

The University of Chicago

Negation in *Don Quijote*

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Romance Languages and Literatures

1931

By

RANDOLPH ARNOLD HAYNES

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1933

The University of Chicago

Negation in *Don Quijote*

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Romance Languages and Literatures

1931

By

RANDOLPH ARNOLD HAYNES

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1933



TO
MARIE BRUNDRETT
MY WIFE

PREFACE

The subject of the following study was suggested to me by Professor G. T. Northup, of the University of Chicago, under whose supervision the work has been done. To him I wish to express my sincere thanks for his unfailing advice and patient assistance. To Professor Hayward Keniston, of the University of Chicago, I am deeply indebted for his constructive criticism afforded me throughout my investigations. It is scarcely possible to voice adequately my appreciation of the unflagging services of my wife in making the study a reality, not only in the matter of copious and tedious reference work and the reading and correcting of manuscript, but also for her rare and ready judgments regarding both content and manner of presentation. It is likewise very fitting to acknowledge here my deep gratitude to my mother-in-law, Mrs. Arnold Brundrett, for her unwavering faith in me and for her interested co-operation and support in my every undertaking.

RANDOLPH A. HAYNES

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
DECEMBER, 1933



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
	Page
Chapter	
I. INDIRECT AND APPROXIMATE NEGATION	4
1. Interrogation	4
A. Nexal questions	5
B. Special questions	6
2. Comparison by " <i>reductio ad absurdum</i> "	7
3. Oaths	8
A. In questions	8
B. Punitive wishes	9
C. <i>Dios sabe</i>	9
4. Conditions and kindred constructions	10
5. Ironical expressions	11
6. <i>Poco</i>	12
A. As adjective	13
B. As pronoun	13
C. As adverb	13
7. <i>Mal, malo</i>	13
A. With verbs	14
B. With adjectives	14
C. As adverb	14
8. <i>Apenas</i> and synonymous terms	14
A. <i>Apenas</i>	15
B. <i>No bien</i> and its equivalent	15
C. <i>Casi no</i>	17
D. <i>Almost</i>	17
9. Special connotative negatives	17
A. <i>Seguro</i>	17
B. <i>Olvidar</i>	18
10. <i>Cuanto más</i> and <i>y más</i>	19
11. Litotes	20
A. With verbs	20
B. With adjectives and adverbs	21

Chapter	Page
C. With indirect interrogatives	21
D. With prepositional phrases	21
E. With <i>más</i> and <i>menos</i>	22
F. <i>Otra cosa</i>	23
II. <i>No</i> AS ABSOLUTE NEGATIVE	24
1. Special negation	24
A. With dependent infinitive	25
B. With <i>todo</i>	25
C. With other adjectives	26
D. Limiting other parts of speech	27
E. <i>Que no</i>	28
F. <i>Y no</i>	29
G. <i>No que</i>	29
H. <i>No más</i>	31
I. <i>No...pero, no...mas</i>	34
J. <i>No sólo</i>	34
K. <i>No sino</i>	36
2. Nexal negation	37
A. Attraction of negative to main verb	38
B. <i>No por</i> of insufficient or rejected cause	39
C. Some anomalous uses	40
III. PLEONASTIC <i>No</i>	42
1. After verbs of weakly-exclusive force	43
A. After expressions involving fear	45
B. After verbs of denying and doubting	53
C. After verbs with exclusive or privative force	54
2. In comparisons	61
3. After other negatives	74
A. <i>Ninguno</i>	75
B. <i>Nadie</i> and <i>nada</i>	75
C. <i>Nunca</i> and <i>jamás</i>	76
D. <i>Apenas</i>	76
E. <i>Sin que</i>	77
F. <i>Ni</i>	77
IV. ABSOLUTE NEGATIVES OTHER THAN <i>No</i>	81

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ix

Chapter	Page
1. <i>Nunca</i>	81
A. As alternative	82
B. Separated from its verb	82
C. Durative	83
D. As special negative	83
2. <i>Jamás</i>	84
A. Separated from the verb	84
B. Durative or emphatic	85
C. After prepositions	85
D. With past participle	85
3. <i>En mi vida</i>	86
4. <i>Ninguno</i>	87
A. As adjective	87
B. As pronoun	88
5. <i>Nadie</i>	89
6. <i>Nada</i>	89
7. <i>Sin</i>	90
A. As special negative	90
B. Limiting the infinitive	91
C. Separated from its infinitive	91
D. As equivalent of <i>además</i>	92
8. <i>Menos</i>	92
V. AUXILIARY NEGATION—STRENGTHENING	93
1. <i>Nunca</i>	93
A. In comparisons	94
B. In questions	94
C. In conditions	95
D. With special connotative negatives	96
2. <i>Jamás</i>	96
A. With pure negatives	97
B. With implied negation	98
3. <i>En mi vida</i>	99
4. <i>Ninguno</i>	100
A. As adjective	100
B. As pronoun	101

Chapter	Page
C. <i>Ningunos</i>	101
D. With implied negation	102
E. In conditions and kindred constructions	106
5. <i>Alguno</i>	107
A. As adjective	108
B. As pronoun	110
C. With approximate negatives	111
6. <i>Nadie</i>	111
A. As ordinary auxiliary	111
B. <i>Quien</i> for <i>nadie</i>	112
C. With implied negation	112
7. Equivalents of <i>nadie</i>	113
8. <i>Nada</i>	114
A. As pronoun	114
B. As adverb	115
C. With implied negation	116
9. Miscellaneous equivalents of <i>nada</i>	117
10. Other reinforcing negatives	118
A. <i>Cosa</i>	118
B. <i>Palabra</i>	119
C. Trifles	119
11. <i>Otro</i>	121
12. <i>Todo</i>	122
13. <i>Tampoco</i>	123
<i>También no</i> for <i>tampoco</i>	124
VI. USES OF <i>Ni</i>	126
1. Type sentences	127
2. Connecting members of dependent clause	134
A. With relative clauses	134
B. With other clauses	134
3. With implied negation	134
A. After words connoting negation	135
(1) With certain special negatives	135
(2) With connotative or approximate negatives	135
B. In sentences implying negation	139

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

(1) In questions	139
(2) In conditions and kindred constructions ---	140
(3) In comparative and superlative sentences --	142
(4) In ironical or exclamatory sentences -----	143
(5) In repugnant comparisons	143
4. Miscellaneous uses	144
A. <i>Sin...o</i>	144
B. <i>Sin...y</i>	144
C. <i>Sin...ni sin</i>	145
D. <i>Ni...si...o</i>	145
E. In certain formulae after <i>sin</i>	145
F. <i>Ni</i> of emphasis	146
VII. <i>Sino</i>	148
1. Nature of adversative <i>sino</i>	148
2. <i>No...sino</i> for <i>only</i>	150
3. <i>Si no</i> concessive	150
4. <i>Sino es</i>	151
5. <i>Sino</i> pleonastic	152
6. With implied negation	154
A. In questions	154
B. After miscellaneous terms connoting negation	156
C. <i>Sino</i> after <i>todo</i>	158
D. <i>Sino</i> after affirmative constructions	159
BIBLIOGRAPHY	164



INTRODUCTION

The object of the present study is to classify the various uses of negation to be met with in the *Quijote*, to indicate the author's practice in general, to point out and account for rare or anomalous uses, and to compare his usage with that of certain of his contemporaries or near-contemporaries in prose writing. No attempt is made to introduce as evidence all instances of negation found in the work, nor to catalogue or make relative counts in every case. Only such examples will be adduced as are judged adequate to corroborate the rule laid down or the explanation offered in a given case. Instances of simple, verbal negation, such as "no tiene," have been disregarded. It has been thought unnecessary to define the terminology employed, except in those rare instances where peculiar circumstances may warrant explanation.

The Spanish negative has been treated incidentally, and, therefore, somewhat cursorily¹ by Diez and Meyer-Lübke, and in greater detail by Weigert.² Other grammarians have treated the subject carefully, though by no means adequately.³ The most complete treatment of the negative is that by Llorens.⁴ Occasional reference to Spanish negation is made by Tobler,⁵ Bourciez,⁶ and Jespersen.⁷ As a rule, the investigators have concerned themselves chiefly with the rigorously syntactic or basic negative, placing little or no emphasis upon the formal or rhetorical side of the question. Jespersen shows, however, that no little negating is accomplished by resorting to certain stylistic devices; and his book, though it deals in the main with negation in English,

¹Diez, pp. 1071-1083; Meyer-Lübke, III §§211, 213-214, 691-711, 757-759.

²Weigert, §§12-15.

³Bello, §§1132-1143, 983, 1253-1255, 1207; Hanssen, §§637-645, 632; G de Diego, §§276-279, 290, 294; Wiggers, pp. 49, 175-179, 193-197, 108; Cejador, I §§190, etc.; de la Peña, §§1533-1562.

⁴Llorens, E. L., *La Negación en Español Antiguo*, Madrid, 1929.

⁵Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge zur Französischen Grammatik*.

⁶Bourciez, *Éléments de Linguistique Romane*.

⁷Jespersen, *Negation in English and Other Languages*.

constitutes an admirable study of the field, especially as regards the psychology of negation.

A careful study of this question will readily reveal that, besides those terms that are innately negative or that contain a negative idea, limitation, contradiction, or repulsion, there operate toward the same end certain formal circumstances and contributory factors indirectly or by implication. In other words, the affirmative, through peculiar usage, may be made to convey the contrary idea; and, conversely, the affirmative is often obtained through litotes. The most commonly used of these rhetorical devices are: (1) interrogation, where a negative answer is presupposed; (2) interjection, which often assumes the garb of an oath; (3) irony, which, being allied to interjection, is prompted by strong emotion; (4) condition, often coupled with an oath or predicating circumstances which are punitive in nature or judged impossible of fulfilment; and (5) comparison, which often takes the form of *reductio ad absurdum*. The following linguistic principles, which are largely matters of construction or word-order, contribute strongly to the introduction of a negative or to the repetition of it in a dependent clause or other subsequent proposition: comparison (of inequality), pleonasm, inversion, anticipation, ellipsis, and parenthesis, an influence differing little from inversion and anticipation. The basic principles back of these factors are negative attraction and negative strengthening. The tendency to place first, or at least very early in the sentence, the negating word (frequently a mere particle or, at best, a term of slight phonetic bulk) often results in the repetition of the negative, as the speaker either loses sight of the original negative, or else fears lest the hearer may not have grasped fully the negative import of the enunciation, especially where this is long or involved or when great emphasis is desired.

According to Diez and Meyer-Lübke, it is in the realm of negative expression that the Romance Languages have made a most radical departure from the syntax of the Latin, especially in point of surprising negative combinations. Assuming the truth of the statement of these two noted philologists, this phase of Spanish syntax should offer a rich field for investigation; and,

needless to say, no author or work could afford so rich a field for research as Cervantes and his inimitable novel.

In the preparation of this dissertation I have followed the text of the *Quijote* as contained in the *Bibliotheca Romanica*.⁸ The principal works with which comparisons of usages are made are the *Celestina*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Santa Teresa's *Cartas*, and the *Historia de la Conquista de México* by Solís. Careful examination has also been made of *Amadís de Gaula*, *Spanish Grail Fragments*, *El Libro del Caballero Cifar*, *El Libro del Conde Lucanor*, *El Corbacho*, *Marcos de Obregón*, and *El Patrañuelo*.

For complete titles of works referred to in an abbreviated form, the reader may consult the bibliography at the end of this study.

⁸Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote*, ed. by Wolfgang von Wurbach, *Bibliotheca Romanica*, Vienna, 1911.

CHAPTER I.

INDIRECT AND APPROXIMATE NEGATION

Negation is very often accomplished indirectly, that is, through the use of certain rhetorical devices which imply negation and by means of terms which are weakly or approximately negative. In the former group are comprised questions implying a negative answer, exclamations, especially those in the form of oaths, ironical expressions, comparisons or similes, conditions, especially those impossible of fulfilment or of a punitive nature; while the latter comprises such incomplete negatives as *apenas*, *poco* and *mal*. Corollary to denying by affirmation is assertion by denying or by expressing negatively a term which is intended positively, that is, it constitutes the figure known as *litotes* or *attenuation*. A very adequate discussion of this phase of negation is that by Jespersen.¹ Tobler treats this use of the interrogative with especial reference to French.² For Spanish I find no adequate discussion, as Weigert, Llorens, etc. treat it sporadically as incidental to formal negation, which it indeed affects strongly.³ The following will serve to give the situation as found in the *Quijote*, with occasional reference to the other works examined.

1. *Interrogation*—A most common way of expressing negation indirectly is to couch the sentence in the form of a question, the answer of which is evidently negative. This is resorted to in all languages in both ancient and modern times in order to convey the negation in a more forceful or subtle fashion, often implying impatience, disgust, or surprise in the mind of the speaker. At times it is used as a mere rhetorical device, at times as reproof or rebuke. These questions are of two kinds: (1) *nexal* questions, that is, where the entire sentence is an interrogation without any

¹Cf. Jespersen, ch. IV.

²Cf. Tobler, IV, 8 (p. 69 ff).

³Cf. Weigert, p. 155, note 1, who fails to see that it is a question of indirect negation through a condition with punitive apodosis.

interrogative word; (2) special questions, that is, in which there occurs some interrogative word, often modifying some other term in the sentence, equivalent to pronouns, such as *quién* for *nadie*, *qué* for *ninguno*, *cuándo* for *nunca*, etc. Inversely, we find negative questions indirectly expressing affirmation. Our text abounds in instances of both kinds, of which it will be necessary to transcribe but a few of the most characteristic. It will be seen that often the question contains some term that further insists upon the negative notion intended, such as *acaso*, *por ventura*, or other term that emphasizes the unlikelihood of the truth of the predicate.

A. *Nexal questions*: II 67 23 "¿es hora esta por ventura de hallar la puerta abierta? ¿Y será bien que demos aldabonazos para que nos oyan...? ¿Vamos por dicha á llamar á la casa de nuestras mancebas...?"; I 347 15 "¿piensa que le ha de ofrecer la fortuna tras cada cantillo semejante ventura como la que ahora se le ofrece?"; II 240 30 "¿tiempos eran aquellos para acordarte del rucio, ó señores son estos para dejar mal pasar á las bestias?"; I 198 23 "¿pues juré yo algo, por dicha? respondió Sancho. No importa que no hayas jurado, dijo D. Quijote" (where the negative import is attested by the rejoinder); I 218 15 "¿estoy yo obligado, a dicha, siendo como soy caballero, á conocer y distinguir los sonos, y saber cuáles son de batan ó no?"; I 301 25 "¿pude yo prevenir esta traicion? ¿Pude por ventura caer en imaginarla!"; II 98 21 "pues ¿qué se pensaba... soy yo por ventura algun escudero de agua y lana?"; II 126 2 "¿yo había de tener atrevimiento de ensuciar el yelmo de vuestra merced?"; I 96 3 "ta, ta, dijo el cura ¿jayanes hay en la danza?" (a forceful way of showing his incredulity).

Even the indirect question may be employed as emphatic denial: II 127 2 "¿leoncitos á mí? ¿a mí leoncitos, y a tales horas? Pues por Dios que han de ver esos señores que acá los envían, si soy yo hombre que se espanta de leones."

Inversely, negative questions affirm: I 288 29 "dígame, señor licenciado, ¿aquel del caballo no es Sancho Panza?"; II 46 18 "pues no sería vuesa merced... uno de los que á pié quedo sirviesen á su rey mi señor?"

This phenomenon is not nearly so frequent in the other works

examined, although in the *Corbacho* and the *Celestina* recourse is had to it fairly often.

B. *Special questions*— Although in this case the result is identical with that of the foregoing category, yet it is effected by a somewhat different method, namely, the use of particular words, such as pronouns, pronominal adjectives, and adverbs.

(1) *Qué*— We find *qué* employed as adjective, pronoun, or to form adverbial phrases. Examples abound: (adjectivally) I 529 8 “¿qué sastre le llevó hechura de vestido que le hiciese? ¿Qué castellano le acogió en su castillo, que le hiciese pagar el escote? ¿Qué rey no le asentó á su mesa? ¿Qué doncella no se le aficionó?” (which also illustrates affirmation through negative question); I 213 18 “yo ¿qué diablos sé?”; (pronominally) I 173 1 “¿qué tengo de dormir, pesia á mi?”; I 221 21 “válate el diablo por hombre... ¿qué va de yelmo á batanes?”; II 502 27 “¿qué digo en la playa? ya está en casa del Visorey”; (adverbially) I 159 3 “¿qué mucho que se anegase en la mitad del golfo de su destino?”; I 392 15 “rindióse Camila, Camila se rindió; pero ¿qué mucho, si la amistad de Lotario no quedó en pié?”

(2) *Quién*: I 106 10 “¿quién duda de eso? dijo la sobrina; ¿pero quién le mete á vuestra merced, señor tío, en esas pendenencias?”; I 305 32 “¿quién pudiera decir ahora los sobresaltos que me dió el corazon mientras allí estuve?” (and thus very often, notably a lengthy series of questions, II 63 16-26).

Inversely, negative for affirmative abound: I 414 22 “¿quién no habia de reir con los disparates de los dos, amo y mozo?”

(3) *Cuál*: II 81 16 “quien la vido y la vee ahora, ¿cuál es el corazon que no llora?”; I 440 35 “si no, ¿cuál de los vivientes habrá en el mundo... que juzgue y crea que nosotros somos quien somos?”

(4) *Cuánto*: II 12 1 “si no, díganme, ¿cuántas historias están llenas destas maravillas?”

(5) *Cuándo*: II 272 4 y cuándo será el día... donde yo te vea hablar sin refranes una razon corriente y concertada” (where the omission of the interrogation point tends to enhance the negative notion intended).

(6) *Cómo*: II 191 12 “¿cómo la pobreza? preguntó D. Qui-

jote; que por el calor bien puede ser" (where the correction through the clause plainly indicates the negation implied in the question); I 135 22 "¿cómo lo podemos saber? respondió uno dellos" (meaning: "we do not know," or "there is no way for us to know"); II 196 19 "mas ¿cómo habia de responder el pobre y mal logrado [asno], si le hallaron en lo mas escondido del bosque comido de lobos?"

Inversely, as in modern Spanish, the negative with *cómo* strongly affirms; that is, it denies or contradicts one idea to reaffirm one's position: I 196 9 "así que, no debes congojarte por las desgracias que á mí me suceden, pues á tí no te cabe parte dellas. ¿Cómo no? respondió Sancho, ¿por ventura el que ayer mantearon, era otro que el hijo de mi padre?"; II 102 16 "podria ser que fuese otro que le pareciese... ¿Cómo no? replicó el del Bosque; por el cielo que nos cubre, que peleé con D. Quijote, y le vencí y rendí."

2. *Comparison by "reductio ad absurdum"*—Cervantes frequently resorts to a periphrasis which is much more striking and forceful, though less common than that with the question, by rendering a sentence indirectly negative by means of an affirmative comparison, usually one of equality, the second member of which is contrary to the fact, is unreal, or repugnant to the speaker's reason. The formulae used are, occasionally, *tan... como*, and most frequently, *así... como*, with a few instances of the converse (affirming by denial) accomplished through *no más que*. In two instances, the *tan* is omitted, and in another, the comparison is between two ideas expressed by the infinitives, the second of which is rejected. I find some twenty-four instances of the phenomenon in the text, though none in the other works: II 281 15 "y vienen á pedirme que me azote de mi voluntad, estando ella *tan* ajena dello *como* de volverme cacique"; I 520 20 "*tan* bacía es el yelmo de Mambrino *como* el jaez deste buen hombre albarda"; I 524 18 "*tan* albarda es *como* mi padre"; I 172 11 "que *así* las [razones] entendían *como* si hablara en griego"; I 320 19 "*así* fuera posible hacella ó decilla *como* es posible dejar de haber sido lo que fué"; I 265 16 "*así* es en mi mano dejar de hablar en ellos, *como* lo es en la de los rayos del sol dejar de calentar, *ni* humedecer en

los de la luna" (with *ni* further corroborating the negative notion); II 259 10 "que *así* lo sufriré *como* ahora es de noche"; II 68 3 "aunque yo lo veré con los ojos y lo tocaré con las manos, y *así* lo creeré yo *como* creer que es ahora de día"; II 15 10 "*así* pienso llover *como* pensar ahorcarme"; II 267 27 "y *así* lo consentiría yo *como* darme de puñaladas"; II 278 19 "pero *así* me daré yo tres [azotes] *como* tres puñaladas"; I 244 32 "*así* escarmentará vuestra merced... *como* yo soy turco"; I 557 1 "porque *así* son ellos, *como* yo soy turco"; I 544 11 "que *así* va encantado mi señor D. Quijote *como* mi madre"; II 373 37 "*así* me haga vuesa merced dormir en la cárcel *como* hacerme rey"; II 69 9 "porque *así* sé yo quién es la señora Dulcinea *como* dar un puño en el cielo"; II 274 13 "*así* esperaré yo aquí *como* en Flandes"; II 326 5 "que *así* cuadran [los refranes de Sancho] con lo que vamos tratando, *como* por los cerros de Ubeda"; II 435 21 "los tres tocadores sí llevo; pero las ligas, *como* por los cerros de Ubeda"; II 265 10 "que está encantada *como* la madre que la parió"; I 243 15 "pero *pensar* que hemos de volver ahora á las ollas de Egipto... *es pensar* que es ahora de noche, que aun no son las diez del día, y *es pedir* a nosotros eso *como* pedir peras al olmo"; I 91 28 "y con todo esto *no mas* verdadera [therefore, as false] *que* los milagros de Mahoma"; I 113 15 "asomaron por el camino dos frailes... caballeros sobre dos dromedarios, que *no* eran *mas* pequeñas dos mulas en que venían" (equivalent to a comparative regarding the largeness of their mounts).

3. *Oaths*— A most emphatic manner of expressing negation indirectly is by means of oaths, curses, ejaculations, and similar exclamatory matter, intended as denials, reproof, incredulity, or the like.⁴ Here again there enters the principle of exaggeration, as with the comparisons of unreality. The imprecation, of course, is usually contained in an optative clause.

A. *In questions*— In § 1 B, we have seen how a question is made emphatic through its use with an oath. Here again the oath plays considerable rôle: I 412 6 "¿cómo *diablos* puede ser eso que decis, estando el gigante dos mil leguas de aquí?" I 510 17

⁴Jespersen, Cf. p. 31 (8).

"¿qué *diablos* de fortaleza ó castillo es este... para obligarnos á guardar esas ceremonias?" (where, as with the foregoing, the qualifying clause or phrase after the question plainly emphasizes the contrary idea implied); II 229 34 "qué *diablos* de ciudad, fortaleza ó castillo dice vuesa merced, señor?"

B. *Punitive wishes*:⁵ I 290 34 "Por Dios... que los *diablos* lleven la cosa que de la carta se me acuerda"; II 280 30 "y llámame alma de cántaro y bestion indómito..., que el *diablo* los sufra" (that is, "indecent," "insufferable," or the like, "that no one would stand"); II 125 36 "si son requesones, démelos vuesa merced, que yo me los comeré; pero *cómalos el diablo*" (that is, "but no, I won't"); I 347 24 "y en siendo rey hágame marques ó adelantado, y luego siquiera se lo lleve *el diablo* todo" ("and I care not what else may happen") I 221 21 "*válate el diablo* por hombre"; II 170 15 "especialmente cuando está celosa, que entónces *súfrala el mismo Satanas*" ("No one could stand her"); II 426 13 "que tal *salud* les dé Dios como ellos dicen verdad"; II 21 5 "*malas ínsulas te ahoguen...* Sancho maldito"; I 346 4 "*para el puto* que no se casare en abriendo el gasnatico al señor Pandahilado" ("Any one would").

Of the other works examined, only *Lazarillo* and the *Celestina* contain any appreciable amount of negation through oaths: *Cel.* 44 1 "a la he, en *mal hora* a ti he yo menester para compañera"; 36 17 "*aprueuelo el diablo*"; 131 5 "por mi amor, hermano, que oygas e calles, que por esso te dio Dios dos oydos, e vna lengua sola. Oyra *el diablo*" (retorts Parmeno by way of refusal); *Laz.* 36 18 "el diablo del enxalma *maldita* la cosa tenia dentro de si"; 37 11 "mas *maldito* el sueño que yo dormi"; 47 17 "mas aunque comimos bien aquel dia, *maldito* el gusto yo tomaua en ello, *ni* en aquellos tres dias torne en mi color" (with *ni* attesting to the negation); 69 (apéndice 2) 2 "y fue que mi amo pdico dos o tres Sermones y *do a Dios* la Bulla tomauan" (with Dios as euphemistic for *diablo*; and also with *maldito*: 9 28, 41 15, 43 20, 45 3); *Cifar* 407 10 "mas *lieue el diablo* el miedo que agora vos he."

C. *Dios sabe*— A very emphatic way of denying that one

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 26 (2).

knows is through the exclamatory device *Dios sabe*:⁶ I 268 11 "sea así, dijo Sancho, hable yo ahora, que despues *Dios sabe* lo que será"; II 105 30 "porque si un gato acosado, encerrado y apretado se vuelve en leon, yo que soy hombre, *Dios sabe* en lo que podré volverme."

4. *Conditions and kindred constructions*— Similarly, negation is often connoted by sentences containing a condition. Here the context or the accompanying construction renders patent the negative notion intended. The usual practice is to put the apodosis in the form of a punitive wish, generally regarding the bodily discomfiture of the speaker, which, premising something not to be expected reasonably, is tantamount to a negative, expressing denial, disbelief, refusal, and the like.⁷ At times, the entire sentence is equivalent to a threat or a prohibition. The first two examples, though not containing a formal condition, are readily reduceable to conditional sentences, for the relative clause is plainly equivalent to a protasis with *si*: II 45 9 "el dia que yo la viere condesa, respondió Teresa, ese haré cuenta que la entierro" (with the relative clause equivalent to a protasis, and the threat, to an apodosis unlikely of realization);⁸ II 408 33 "el enemigo que yo hubiere vencido, quiero que me le claven en la frente" (which, after the manner of the preceding example, constitutes a flat denial); II 69 25 "que me maten. Sancho, dijo en oyéndole D. Quijote, si nos ha de suceder cosa buena esta noche"; II 95 32 "mala pascua me dé Dios, y sea la primera que viniere, si le trocara por él aunque me diesen cuatro fanegas de cebada encima"; II 183 22 "lléveme Dios, que iba á decir el diablo, si le creo cosa alguna" (with *alguna* as further indication of the negative import); II 239 31 "malos sean los [años] que me quedan por vivir... si lo dije por tanto"; II 76 15 "vive el Señor, que me pele estas barbas si tal fuese verdad."

Inversely, we find the same situation in negative sentences, with *que me mate* appearing most frequently: II 313 28 "que me maten si no estamos ya en el lugar del fuego"; II 382 24 "que me

⁶Jespersen, p. 36.

⁷Jespersen, p. 26 ff.

⁸Cf. chs. V 1 C, V 4 E, and VI 3 B (2); *Grail*, II, p. 187 (61,3).

maten si no anda por aquí nuestro señor amo D. Quijote" (and likewise with *que me maten*: I 412 18, II 12 11, 131 34); I 367 8 "como si yo no supiese cuántas son cinco, y adónde me aprieta el zapato" (with its positive significance corroborated by *y*); II 218 23 "el diablo me lleve... si este mi amo no es tólogo"; II 29 13 "mala [vida] me la dé Dios, Sancho... si no sois vos la segunda persona de la historia"; I 523 26 "no la [parte] tenga yo en el cielo... si todos vuestras mercedes no se engañan"; II 161 19 "no medre yo si no son anillos de oro y muy de oro"; I 415 13 "pues no se piense, que por los huesos de mi padre y por el siglo de mi madre si no me la han de pagar un cuarto sobre otro, ó no me llamaria yo como me llamo."

Extremely rare is this phenomenon elsewhere. The *Celestina* affords the example: 90 29 "mal gozo vea de mí, si burlo." (And, too, 23 33, 92 8).

5. *Ironical expressions*— A covert and very emphatic manner of negating is effected through use of ironical terms, which, though they are put positively, convey the notion of denial, disbelief, refusal, etc.⁹ In that such expressions are exclamatory in nature, they resemble oaths, but do not contain the implication of a curse. Often they denote impatience. The requisite is that the opposite serves to deny. Especially common are those employing nouns of kinship, as in English "My aunt," or "Tell that to the marines": I 366 2 "tomáos con mi *padre*, dijo el dicho ventero" (in disparagement of the deeds of valor just recounted of García de Paredes); II 77 34 "toma que mi *agüelo*, respondió la aldeana, *amiguita* soy yo de oír resquebrajos" (where the kinship noun, as well as the clause with *amiguita*, expresses displeasure; cf. Marín, who points out that the Princeps reads *tomá*, and gives a long note on such ironical expressions);¹⁰ I 433 8 "porque quiero que sepa vuestra merced... que el gigante muerto es un cuero horadado, y la sangre seis arrobas de vino tinto que encerraba en su vientre, y la cabeza cortada es la *puta* que me parió, y llévelo todo Satanás" (in which the imputation concerning

⁹Jespersen, p. 30 (6) and (7).

¹⁰Marín, IV 217 3.

his mother, together with the curse, strongly, though indirectly, denies the cutting off of the head); I 367 7 "á otro perro con ese hueso, respondió el ventero, como si yo no supiese cuántas son cinco" ("Do not tell me that"); II 453 28 "á esto dijo Sancho: *Donosa* cosa de historiador por cierto; *bien debe* de estar en el cuento de nuestros sucesos" (containing two affirmations to be understood contrariwise); II 281 19 "*bueno* sería que yo enviase á mis insulanos un gobernador cruel"; II 250 5 "*bonitos* eran ellos para sufrir semejantes cosquillas" ("they never did"); I 507 33 "ya *quisiera* yo ver eso, respondió D. Quijote; pero él se guardará bien deso, si ya no quiere hacer el mas desastrado fin que padre hizo en el mundo" (If the ventero should try to cut his daughter into mince-meat, the consequences would be dire—an energetic challenge and prohibition); II 524 12 "esas burlas á un *cuñado*, que yo soy perro viejo"; II 153 11 "habilidades y gracias que no son vendibles, mas que las *tenga el conde Dirlos*" ("but not for such as you"); II 388 24 "par Dios, respondió Sanchica, tambien [tan bien] me vaya yo sobre una pollina como sobre un coche: hallado la habeis la *melindrosa*"; II 126 2 "¿yo habia de tener atrevimiento de ensuciar el yelmo de vuesa merced? Halládole habeis el *atrevido*"; I 179 6 "porque mas de cuatrocientos moros me han aporreado á mi, de manera que el molimiento de las estacas fué *tortas y pan pintado*" ("that was easy, nothing"); II 128 27 "con lágrimas en los ojos le suplicó desistiese de tal empresa, en cuya comparacion habian sido *tortas y pan pintado* la de los molinos de viento y la temerosa de los batanes"; II 486 23 "pero esto todo fuéron *tortas y pan pintado* para lo que ahora diré"; I 76 24 "porque *eso se me da* que me den ocho reales en sencillos, que en una pieza de á ocho" ("I care that," "it is all the same to me," "I do not care," etc.; and similarly II 60 20).

The *Celestina* has one of the very infrequent examples to be met with in the other works: 52 26 "hi, hi, hi! *Mudada esta el diablo; hermosa* era con aquel su Dios os salue."

6. *Poco*—One of the most common instances of approximate or partial negation is that effected through *poco*, with the value of *no, without, nothing, lack of, -less*. This use of the positive to

convey the negative notion is very frequent in many languages,¹¹ and it is by no means rare in the *Quijote*, though less frequent in the other works. An example for modern Spanish is: "Reina. Sí, muerte implacable, burlaré tu intento. *Poco* [nada, insuficiente] es tu poder para arrancarle de mis brazos."¹² A few examples will illustrate.

A. *As adjective*: II 75 24 "*poca* diferencia hay, respondió Sancho, de cananeas á hacaneas"; I 455 11 "y los que esto dicen, hablan de léjos y con *poca* [ninguna] experiencia"; I 417 18 "creyendo que Leonela habia de decir á Anselmo todo lo que sabia de su *poca fe* [lack of faith, faithlessness]."

B. *As pronoun*: I 339 23 "que sí debe ser, ó yo sé *poco* de remos"; II 124 29 "que yo sé *poco* de aventuras, ó lo que allí descubro es alguna que me ha de necesitar"; I 393 2 "los ofrecimientos se han tenido en *poco*."

C. *As adverb*: I 259 26 "que para remediar desdichas del cielo *poco* suelen valer los bienes de fortuna"; I 184 10 "*poco* [nada] tengo yo que ver en esto, respondió el ventero" (a forthright disclaimer); I 435 2 "y que fué *poco* versado en las historias caballescascas."

The other works show little of this device: *Cel.* 6 22 "*poco* sabes de firmeza" (and 159 28); *Laz.* 14 3 "yo torne a jurar e perjurar que estaua libre de aquel trueco y cambio, mas *poco* me aprouecho"; *Cartas* 231 B 31 "mas dábaseles *poca* cuenta de nada" (in which, as in the following, the negative notion in *poco* is attested by a subsequent negative); 168 A 12 "dice que lo hizo reir, y que *poco* ni mucho le mudó" (and: 13 A 23, 161 A 25); *Amad.* 3 B 36 "que contra nos *poca* [ninguna] defensa vos ternán"; 5 A 38 "*poco* daria por saber cosa que se hace ni dice" (with *ni* as proof of the negative connotation; so, too, 9 B 34); *Luc.* 285 10 "tan grand su danno et tan grand *poco* seso" ("senselessness").

7. *Mal, malo*—A similar use is made of *mal* (rarely *malo*) with the approximate value of *no* or *un-*. In effect, saying *ill, poorly, hardly*, etc. is practically the same as denying. The practice

¹¹Cf. Jespersen, p. 39; Llorens, §56.

¹²Tamayo y Baus, *Obras (La Locura de Amor)*, Madrid, 1899, II, 398.

is very frequent in Spanish, and no few instances are met with in the text.

A. *With verbs*: I 283 32 "*mal* me conoce" ("She does not know me"); I 224 10 "que semejantes desgracias *mal* [no] se pueden prevenir"; I 106 9 "y mándole yo que *mal* podrá él contradecir ni evitar lo que por el cielo está ordenado" (with *ni* attesting to the purely negative significance); II 61 3 "*mal* [no] se te acuerdan á tí, ó Sancho, aquellos versos de nuestro Poeta" (a somewhat indirect way of expressing *forget*, comparable to the vulgar *disremember*; and often with *acordarse*); I 341 28 "y á quien *mal* le ha parecido... digo que sabe poco de achaque de caballería"; I 347 20 "así *noramala* [nunca] alcanzaré yo el condado que espero, si vuestra merced se anda á pedir cotufas en el golfo."

B. *With adjectives*: I 170 17 "hacia [la cama] mucha ventaja á la de D. Quijote, que solo contenía cuatro *mal* lisas tablas sobre dos *no muy iguales* bancos" (that is, *unsmoothed*, *unfinished*, an attenuation like that in *no muy iguales*); I 320 9 "yo pobre-cilla, sola entre los míos [suspiros], *mal* ejercitada [inexperienced] en casos semejantes..."

C. *As adverb*: I 232 2 "que á buena fe que te han de llamar señoría, *mal* que les pese"; II 206 34 "y *mal* su grado la hace bajar al suelo."

This use is less common in the other works: *Cel.* 85 13 "que avnque oy veyas que aquello dezia. no era porque me paresciesse *mal* lo que tu fazias; pero porque veyas que le consejaua yo lo cierto, y me daua *malas gracias* [ingratitude]" (and so: 107 10 132 21); *Laz.* 36 16 "porque de lo duro *mal* se puede hazer blando"; *Cartas* 11 A 41 "que el demonio puede sufrir *mal* estas casas" (that is, *cannot*); 188 A 17 "que. sin esto. puédese *mal* plantar la religion"; *Patr.* 30 2 "*mal* puedo yo casarme siendo vos [his wife]... viva"; *Cifar* 146 21 "*mal* acorrido seras del... quando fueres en nuestro poder."

8. "*Apenas*" and synonymous terms— In ch. II we shall see that *apenas* sometimes, though very rarely, is followed by *no*. This leads us to believe that *apenas* was felt to be only partially negative, as it is etymologically.¹³ Weigert furnishes examples of

¹³Cf. Llorens, §131.

no... apenas.¹⁴ Along with *apenas*, we find *casi no*, *no... bien*, and at least four instances of *no hubo* with omission of *bien*, which are treated here as constituting indirect use of the negative to indicate the coincidence of two acts in the same manner as does the synonymous *apenas*. *A duras penas* occurs rarely, and *aduro*, or its variants, not at all. The usual compound tense is the preterit perfect, which is that logically in order after this adverb. One has but to resolve the compound sentence into two independent preterits, in order to show that each clause denotes a completed act; while the pluperfect indicates the result as an already-prevailing state.

A. *Apenas*— The first example is illustrative of the use of *apenas* not in its temporal sense: I 500 1 "*apénas* creo que pueden pensarse, cuanto mas escribirse"; II 31 1 "*apénas* han visto [act completed] algun rocin flaco, cuando dicen..."; I 113 25 "*mas apénas* los divisó D. Quijote, cuando dijo á su escudero"; I 314 14 "*y apénas* los hubo visto, cuando se levantó en pié"; I 71 35 "*apénas* habia el rubicundo Apolo tendido... las doradas hebras... *y apénas* los... pajarillos... habian saludado la venida de la rosada aurora... cuando..." (and similarly with the pluperfect: I 133 13); I 227 20 "que ha de ser una de las mas hermosas y acabadas doncellas que á *duras penas* se pueda hallar" (which, to be sure, exemplifies the auxiliary use).

In the other works examined, the use conforms, in the main, to the rule of modern Spanish, except for occasional use with the pluperfect. It is most frequently replaced by *casi no* and *a duro*: *Laz.*: 17 11 "aun *apenas* auia acabado de dezir, quando se abalanza el pobre ciego" (and also with the pluperfect: 59 3); *Amad.* 328 B 1 "que *apenas* podo responder, ni de sí mismo se acordaba" (with *ni* induced by the negative *apenas*"; 245 B 28 "é reparo [refuge] que *a duro* en otra parte *no* podrian fallar" (the usual practice).

B. "*No bien*" and its equivalent— As this formula is equivalent to *apenas*, and therefore presupposes a completed act, it is

¹⁴Weigert, p. 153.

but natural that it should be accompanied almost always by the preterit perfect. I judge it necessary to give but one example of the regular use and the single instance that I have found using the pluperfect. The remaining examples are those that show the ellipsis of *bien*, but which are at least equivalent to *no... bien*: II 347 20 "*no se hubo bien apartado, cuando...*"; II 36 5 "*no habia bien acabado de decir estas razones Sancho, cuando llegaron á sus oídos...*"; I 222 33 "*y no hubo tocado al suelo, cuando se levantó mas ligero que un gamo*" (which, if taken literally, presents a physical impossibility, as is the case in the following); I 342 33 "*no hubo ella dicho esto, cuando Cardenio y el barbero se le pusieron al lado*"; II 524 25 "*no las [dueñas] hubo visto Sancho, cuando bramando como un toro, dijo*" (all of which tend to prove that the preterit of *haber* as auxiliary insists upon the idea of finished act, which, then, is a substitute for the notion of *just* understood in the idiom *acabar de*, and is a use that conveys greater immediateness to the second act); I 185 18 "*pero no hubo llegado á las paredes del corral... cuando vió el mal juego que se le hacia á su escudero*"; I 511 13 "*y así no se hubo movido [Rocinante] tanto cuanto [a bit],¹⁵ cuando se desviaron los juntos piés de D. Quijote*" (where the use of the preterit perfect presupposes a completed, previous act, which the text actually indicates).

Interesting are similar cases encountered in the *Patrañuelo*, some eight in all, of this temporal formula for *no sooner, hardly*, etc. Here, however, the phenomenon is not limited to *hubo*: 202 26 "*no fué dentro Ricardo en la mar [whither he had thrown himself], cuando se halló arrepiso*"; 172 19 "*no fué echada Finea tan presto, cuando luego en un punto fué adormida*" (in which there must operate a mixing of the constructions with *tan... que* and the temporal *no... bien*, similar to that in the following); 108 24 "*y Antioco no le hubo dado licencia que de allí a poco no se arrepintiese por ello*"; 211 17 "*no hubo acabado de beber, cuando cayó en tierra muerto sin vida*" (and similarly with *acabado*: 155 2, 191 9, 215 28); 204 20 "*no lo hubo dicho tan presto cuanto el monje Aquileyo le hizo proveer*" (illustrative of the construction that may have influenced the anomalous one).

¹⁵Equals *algún tanto*. Cf. *Dic. Acad.*, *tanto* and Marín I 427 8, *cuanto*.

C. *Casi no*—There are several instances of *casi* plus a negative as substitute for *apenas*—though not for *no bien*—which at once demands the prerequisite of a finished act and another immediately following. The example most nearly in point is the first below, where, however, the pluperfect is employed: I 421 19 “y Cardenio se entró en el aposento de D. Quijote, y *casi no* habían tenido lugar para esto, cuando entraron en la venta todos”; I 80 3 “ellos mismos lo llevaban todo en unas alforjas muy sutiles, que *casi no* se parecían” (and, too: I 424 17, II 17 22).

It occurs far less frequently in the other works: *Cel.* 52 9 “*quasi* otra cosa *no* ama sino lo que perdio”; *Laz.* 61 17 “que *casi* anima viuiente en el lugar *no* quedo sin ella”; *Amad.* 320 B 50 “que *casi* los caballos *no* podían andar sino sobre ellos”; 258 B 19 “é *casi no* siendo aun salido de aquel yerro. ¿quereis entrar en otro peor?” (and so, frequently).

D. Interesting are the following examples illustrative of the uncertainty as to the proper manner of expressing the kindred notion *almost*, that is, margin of failure. Observe that when the indicative is used, the verb is made negative while negation is implicit in the examples that contain the imperfect subjunctive expressing a condition: *Amad.* 96 B 16 “e *por poco no* cayó”; 318 A 8 “que *por muy poco no* le derribó del caballo” (note the indicative in the last two); 122 A 54 “é *por poco cayera* en el agua si *no* se tovierá á los maderos” (interesting because of the imperfect subjunctive, used to denote *almost*, margin of failure, etc.); *Patr.* 232 15 “concibió en sí tanto enojo que *apenas* hubiera caído de su estado de ver que su hijo había querido perder tan buena suerte”; *Cifar* 406 23 “e cortole del onbro vn gran pedaço, de guisa que le ouiera todo el onbro de cortar.”

9. *Special connotative negatives*— In certain terms there inheres a negative or privative notion, whether through idea of exclusion or through misconception:—

A. *Seguro*— Bello registers an example of *seguro* with negative implication, or, as he thinks, with *no* understood: “*seguro* está que la piquen pulgas ni otro insecto vil.”¹⁶ He says that it is

¹⁶Bello, §1141.

customary to understand *no* after *seguro está*, meaning *es seguro que no*. Peña quotes similarly: "*seguro está que me piquen moscas*," to illustrate an instance of what he terms "positive words in form with negative meaning."¹⁷ Hanssen considers the phenomenon as that of suppression of *no*.¹⁸ In Bello's example, *ni* attests to the negative connotation in *seguro*, and the use of the subjunctive in that by Peña corroborates the implication. One is at once led to suspect that we must not take *seguro* in its secondary sense of *sure, certain, confident*, but rather in its etymological, privative acceptance, *sine cura*, of *careless, unconcerned, untroubled, fearless, safe against, unsuspecting*.¹⁹ In his *Diccionario* Cejador lists, without comment, examples of both meanings, *sure* or *certain*, and *safe against*.²⁰ Bello, Peña, and Hanssen, then, fail to feel the privative notion of this Spanish word that comes directly from the Latin. In the following examples, the context plainly precludes the sense *certain, sure*, etc. Marín calls attention to the meaning *descuidado, ajeno* in the first four,²¹ to which I add the fifth: I 301 31 "ella me dijo, tan *segura* como yo de la traición de D. Fernando"; I 414 13 "bien puede... vivir de hoy mas *segura* [,] que le pueda hacer mal" (where, doubtlessly, the comma is erroneous, and the subjunctive attests to the privative notion in *seguro*); I 536 6 "que *libre y seguro* de tal acontecimiento dormía"; II 363 9 "y así pregunto si estaré yo *seguro* de ser acometido y forzado"; I 394 14 "dijole Anselmo que bien podía estar *segura* de aquella sospecha."

B. *Olvidar*— Jespersen gives examples of *forget* for *not to remember*.²² Similarly, *olvidar* stands for *no acordarse* when used in the present or the imperfect, as *forget* implies completed action: II 273 22 "porque traigo en tantas cosas divertidos los pensamientos, que de la principal á que venia se me *olvidaba*") "I was forgetting," unless the tense implies *about to forget, almost forgetting*); II 8 30 "*olvidábaseme* decirte, que esperes el Pérsiles";

¹⁷Peña, §1553.

¹⁸Hanssen, §644.

¹⁹Cf. *Harp. Lat. Dic., securus; Cent. Dic., secure; Dic. Acad., seguro*.

²⁰Cejador, II, *seguro*.

²¹Marín, II 358 20.

²²Jespersen, p. 59.

II 32 28 "y algunos han puesto falta y dolo en la memoria del autor, pues se le *olvida* de contar quién fué el ladron que hurtó el rucio á Sancho" (unless the tense is the historical present connoting a single act).

10. "*Cuanto más*" and "*y más*"— The positive *cuanto más*, and, far less frequently in our text, *y más*, is found after a negative proposition, by way of indirect strengthening, doubtlessly through analogy with its proper use in a sort of comparison in positive sentences, as in the two following: I 209 19 "pero tiene el miedo muchos ojos, y ve las cosas debajo de la tierra, *cuanto mas encima en el cielo*"; I 124 31 "que yo te sacaré de las manos de los caldeos, *cuanto mas* de las de la hermandad." Possibly through loss of the comparative notion inherent in *cuanto más* and through confusion with the notion of *mayormente* [especialmente], it has crept into use after negative statements, where *cuanto menos*, *mucho menos*, or *menos* would be more logical. This may have been partly due to the ellipsis of the main negative verb and to the addition of *cuanto más* by way of continuative negation. Jespersen shows that the same phenomenon is common in English and other languages.²³ Who has not heard such a sentence as: "I will go with him two miles, *much less one*?" In English, this continuative negative formula is often rendered: *not to mention*, *not to speak of*, or *to say nothing of*. We shall later note a similar construction with *no que*.²⁴ Of the use of *y más*, I have record of but two instances in our text, the first of which is scantily annotated by Marín.²⁵ Of *cuanto más*, I find nine instances, the first three of which are noted by Marín, who cites evidence from other authors.²⁶ Its use is infrequent in the other works: a few instances in the *Cartas*, rarely in the *Corbacho* and *Cifar*, though more often in *Amadís*: I 256 29 "el cual venia hablando entre sí cosas que no podian ser entendidas de cerca, *cuanto mas* [much less so] de léjos"; I 74 13 "non toca ni atañe facerlo á ninguno, *cuanto mas* á tan altas doncellas"; II 508 15 "pero á buen seguro.

²³Cf. Jespersen, p. 37.

²⁴Cf. ch. II.

²⁵Marín, V 260 19.

²⁶*Ibid.*, II 246 20.

que no ha de querer quitarse el gordo una onza de sus carnes, *cuanto mas* seis arrobas"; I 75 13 "con seguridad de hallar en esta choza ocasion y ocasiones para no dormir en todo un año, *cuanto mas* en una noche"; I 429 15 "y vería que pocas ó ninguna se le podía igualar, *cuanto mas* hacerle ventaja"; I 505 8 "yo no puedo ser criada de su hijo, *cuanto mas* esposa" (and similarly: I 528 29, II 29 33, 532 12); II 290 27 "y nadie diga mal de las dueñas, *y mas* de las antiguas y doncellas"; II 385 30 "todavía estaban confusos y no acababan de atinar qué sería aquello del gobierno de Sancho, *y mas* de una insula."

The other works have the following: *Cartas* 3 B 12 "que no podrá salir, si es retor, a ver a V. S. *cuantimas* ir a ver al padre Avila" (showing the more colloquial form; similarly with *cuanto más*: 163 B 2, 175 B 32, 257 A 30); *Amad.* 118 A 46 "no os debríades matar ni perder por ninguna cosa... *cuanto mas* por fecho de mujeres" (and so: 42 A 53, 55 B 55; *Corb.* 113 17; *Cifar* 395 24).

11. *Litotes*— Negation is often used indirectly to express a positive idea as a matter of attenuation, most frequently by denying the opposite of the idea, with the result that the affirmation is not so starkly put. It must be noted that the use of *no* here constitutes special negation²⁷ when it refers to adjectives, adverbs, etc., and otherwise that it is nexal.²⁸ Suffice it to quote some of the most characteristic instances found in the text.

A. *With verbs*: I 552 19 "y á Sancho *no* le fué *muy bien* con otros sus secuaces" ("he got along badly"); I 368 17 "cierto que *no* me parece *mal* el titulo desta novela" ("I like it"); I 458 21 "*no* parecieron *mal* los sonetos, y el cautivo se alegró con las nuevas"; I 226 28 "*no* dices *mal*. Sancho" ("you say well, you are right"); II 19 33 "que *no* debieron ser cosas *demasiadamente* honestas" ("none too decent," an instance of attraction of *no* to the main verb, as also in the next following); II 91 8 "y verás allí tendido un andante caballero, que á lo que á mí se me trasluce *no* debe estar *demasiadamente* alegre"; I 352 16 "todo eso *no* me *descontenta*"; I 421 7 "y en lo que toca al modo de contarle, *no* me *descontenta*" ("me gusta"); I 167 37 "y veamos cómo está Ro-

²⁷Cf. ch. II, 1.

²⁸Cf. ch. II, 2.

cinante, que á lo que me parece, *no* le ha cabido la *menor* parte desta desgracia" ("has got the worst of it"); I 438 9 "*no* os dé *mucho* pena, señora mia, la incomodidad de regalo" ("Let it give you little"); I 435 6 "*no* siéndolo *mucho* matar á un gigante"; I 239 4 "y cada uno se dé una vuelta á la redonda, y *no* hará *poco*" ("and that will be a great deal, enough"); I 472 15 "y *no* fué *poco* [therefore, it was difficult] hallar tantos en aquella coyuntura."

B. *With adjectives and adverbs*: I 460 19 "que es un *no* pequeño trabajo" (and also with *pequeño*: II 91 3, 48 11, I 137 23); II 24 9 "fué [Caesar] notado de ambicioso y algun tanto *no* limpio, ni en sus vestidos, ni en sus costumbres" (which is certainly much more delicate than *sucio*); II 514 35 "y tambien suelen andar los amores y los *no* buenos deseos por los campos como por las ciudades"; I 175 34 "el lecho, que era un poco endeble y de *no* firmes fundamentos... dió consigo en el suelo"; I 553 18 "sin comparacion alguna con las comedias buenas que con las *no tales*"; I 500 26 "de que *no* poco gusto recibió" (and thus frequently with *poco*); I 408 18 "y guiando su punta por parte que pudiese herir *no* profundamente, se la entró..."

Interesting are the following from other works: *Cartas* 31 A 3 "no sé cómo no le han dado una carta bien larga, que escribí estando *no buena*" ("unwell"); 298 B 8 "llegué aquí *no buena*, con una calenturilla"; *Cifar* 109 2 "deso he yo miedo, ...que la tu proeua sea *non buena*."

C. *With indirect interrogatives*— Used with the negative, these interrogatives denote indefiniteness: I 353 26 "¿*no* sentiste un olor sabeo, una fragancia aromática, y un *no sé* qué de bueno...?"; I 572 22 "por ver que tiene este caso *no sé* qué de sombra de aventura" (and similarly: I 169 1, ¶12 28, 229 29, 247 28, 291 7, 310 3, 310 12, 318 29, 325 34, 359 26, etc.); I 139 34 "no os sabré buenamente decir *cuántos* ricos mancebos... han tomado el traje" (meaning "numerous"); I 176 13 "y entre otras [puñadas] alcanzó con *no sé cuántas* á Maritornes" (and so: I 127 28, 243 34, 327 31).

D. *With prepositional phrases*: I 330 18 "nacido *no* de muy remota esperanza"; I 92 33 "y *no* con *poco* trabajo le subió sobre

su jumento"; I 256 6 "y *no con falta* de lágrimas" (that is, "llo-rando con muchas lágrimas"); II 193 22 "y en esto llegaron á la venta á tiempo que anochecía. y *no sin* gusto de Sancho" (and thus very often with *sin*).

E. *With "más" and "menos"*— In passing, attention is called briefly to the frequent use made of *no menos*, *ni mas ni menos*, *no ...más*, and *no haber que* in special stylistic devices for emphatic affirmation. The first three render the notion of *as much*, *similarly*, *equally*; while the latter denotes superlative degree. A few examples will suffice.

(1) *No menos*— Here the inference may not be simply *as much*, but even to a greater degree: I 331 8 "y se ofreció con *no ménos* voluntad que el cura"; I 257 1 "D. Quijote le volvió las saludes con *no ménos* comedimiento" (and thus frequently); II 31 8 "porque en toda ella no se descubre... una palabra deshonestá, *ni* un pensamiento *ménos* que católico"; I 113 11 "*no* digo yo *ménos*, respondió D. Quijote" (that is, "igualmente. lo mismo opino yo," and thus often separated); I 172 17 "y la asturiana Maritornes curó a Sancho. que *no ménos* lo había menester que su amo"; I 495 8 "y *no ménos* le admiraba su talle que sus palabras" (and thus often with the verb).

(2) *Ni más ni menos*— This formula is very common in the text and is not infrequent even today. It serves as an emphatic tag to express *igualmente*, *lo mismo*, etc.: II 382 24 "quedó pas-mada Teresa, y su hija *ni mas ni ménos*"; I 364 1 "y que quería estar oyéndolos noches y días. Y yo *ni mas ni ménos*, dijo la ventera"; I 521 11 "y tengo... carta de exámen... y *ni mas ni ménos* fui un tiempo... soldado."

(3) *No... más*— By way of a superlative, we find *no haber más* and *no ser más*, used either absolutely or with the complementary *que ver*, *que desear*, etc. This clause is equivalent to *unexampled*, *incomparable*, *par excellence*, *unheard-of*, or the like: I 239 18 "que él mesmo ha escrito su historia. que *no hay mas*. y deja empeñado el libro en la cárcel"; I 79 9 "de manera que él quedase armado caballero y tan caballero que *no* pudiese ser *mas* [igual] en el mundo"; I 294 11 "la ventera vistió al cura de modo que *no* había *mas* que ver"; I 133 12 "y es músico de un

rael, que *no hay mas que desear*"; I 366 24 "que le dijo tantas de cosas, que *no hay mas que oír*"; II 52 33 "pues sabe que soy bachiller por Salamanca, y que *no hay mas que bachillear*."

F. *Otra cosa*— We shall see how *otro* partakes strongly of the value of a negative and that it often signifies *different*.²⁹ We find it used with *cosa* or *cosa más que* (or *de*), first, to express *otherwise, contrary, etc.*, which formula expressed negatively equals indirect negation to affirm; second, used negatively, to express, thus indirectly, *only, sole, single, etc.* *Otra cosa*, then, does not mean *another thing*, but *differently, otherwise, to the contrary*, and, negatively it means *same, this very same*, or the like.

(1) *Otherwise*: I 146 11 "y caería en mal caso el caballero andante que *otra cosa* hiciese" (the affirmative use); I 142 9 "D. Quijote, que *otra cosa no* deseaba, se levantó" (an instance with the formula before a negative verb); I 277 26 "*ni* creo que vuestra merced dirá *otra cosa*"; I 424 32 "ya que *no* podáis hacer *otra cosa*"; II 219 19 "y dióle tal golpe con él, que *sin* ser poderoso á *otra cosa* dió con Sancho Panza en el suelo" (and thus often).

(2) *Only*— Similar to *no...más* for *only*, etc., we find *no... otra cosa*, *no... otra cosa más que* (or *de*), and *no... al*, comparable to French *ne...que*: I 413 29 "¿no ves, ladrón, que la sangre y la fuente *no es otra cosa* que estos cueros?"; I 429 19 "que *no* podía hacer *otra cosa* que cumplirle la palabra dada" (and thus often with *hacer*); I 422 10 "y *no* se hace *otra cosa mas de* la que él ordena y manda"; I 536 9 "no pudo menearse *ni* hacer *otra cosa mas que* admirarse"; I 74 22 "que el mío [talante] *non es de al* que de serviros."

²⁹ Cf. ch. V, 11.

CHAPTER II

NO AS ABSOLUTE NEGATIVE

Spanish *no* < *non* < Latin *non* < *ne oenum* is the negative of most general use in the language. Due to the general linguistic tendency to place the sign of negation at the beginning, or at least very early, *no* has come to stand before the Spanish verb, instead of some word later in the sentence, to which it may logically refer. In this connection, compare "I have no money" and "No tengo dinero." This negating of the word *money* furnishes a good example of what is termed *special negation*, while the Spanish example illustrates *nexal negation*. We see in relatively modern English the strong tendency to use the auxiliary *do* more and more, in which case it is almost the universal practice to place the negative with it. The tendency to attract the negative to the main verb is well illustrated in the popular expressions: "I am *not expected* to go there" for "I am *expected not to go* there"; "he *doesn't seem* to understand" for "he *seems not to understand*"; and the vulgar—and I suppose ultra-modern—"he *can't seem* to understand" for "he *seems not to be able to understand*."

Although it is the most usual practice for the negative *no* to stand with the determining verb, yet we find that it may limit dependent infinitives and other parts of speech. Compare "puede no llegar a tiempo" with "no puede llegar a tiempo," which are quite different one from the other. But the use of special negation in Spanish, except that of the negative dependent infinitive, is relatively rare and is probably used most often as a rhetorical device. Instances of both, however, are early found and are not lacking in the *Quijote*.

1. *Special negation*—Treatments of this phase are to be found in Jespersen and Llorens.¹ In the use of special negatives,

¹Cf. Jespersen, ch. V; Llorens, pp. 39-59.

we find in Cervantes a richer variety than in the other authors examined.

A. *With dependent infinitive*— The following instances will serve to illustrate the use of special negation with the dependent infinitive, whether after auxiliary verbs or prepositions. It is readily seen that if the negative sign were with the main verb, the sense would have been completely altered: I 72 22 “con el riguroso afincamiento de mandarme *no parecer* ante la vuestra fermosura”; II 56 4 “bien puede la señora ama *no rezar* mas la oracion”; II 453 9 “ni vuestra presencia puede desmentir vuestro nombre, ni vuestro nombre puede *no acreditar* vuestra presencia”; I 174 3 “y propuso de *no cometer* alevosía á su señora Dulcinea”; II 153 2 “que el pobre debe de contentarse con lo que hallare, y *no pedir* cotufas en el golfo” (and similarly: I 396 25, 399 21, II 10 15).

The same construction may be found earlier: *Cel.* 73 13 “diziendome que cessasse mi habla e me quitasse delante, si queria *no hazer* a sus seruidores verdugos de mi postremería”; 100 14 “huelgas de *no gozar* tu parte”; *Corb.* 29 12 “pues ¿quien nos defendera a nosotros, dignos de *non ser* en su esguarde nin respecto ombres llamados?”

B. *With “todo”*— The general rule in modern Spanish is to place *no* before the verb and let *todo* follow the verb,² as in the well-known proverb: “No es oro todo lo que reluce.”³ But no few instances of *no todo* are met with in Cervantes: II 66 9 “pero *no todos* podemos ser frailes”; II 48 7 “que *no todos* son corteses ni bien mirados”; I 157 28 “que *no todas* hermosuras enamoran”; I 79 25 “porque *no todas* veces en los campos y desiertos... habia quien los curase”; I 203 6 “*no todas* las cosas... suceden del mismo modo.”

Of the other works, I have found examples from the *Cartas* only: 8 A 14 “porque *no todas* las personas espirituales me contentan”; 312 A 4 “*no todos* los monesterios están donde quisieren.”

²Cf. ch. V, 12.

³Cf. Tobler, I, pp. 190-196; Jespersen, p. 87; Llorens, p. 40.

C. *With other adjectives*— Since *no* is used most frequently with the verb, it is but natural that it comes to be used in expressions of an elliptical nature or absolutely. It is a very easy step from this use with the past participle to that with the adjective. The scant use with descriptive adjectives is confined to *litotes*.⁴

(1) *With past participle*: I 483 16 “sabia él bien que le habia dejado en Arjel, y *no traídole* al jardin” (with omission of the auxiliary); II 165 14 “sí doy [la manol], respondió Basilio, *no turbado*”; I 74 23 “el lenguaje, *no entendido* de las señoras” (in the two preceding examples, the verbal nature of the participle has begun to shade off into the adjectival, and one might easily translate as follows: *undisturbed. uncomprehended*).

In the following, the verbal nature is giving way still more to the adjectival: I 346 24 “y si en alguna cosa he andado demasiada ó *no tan acertada* como debiera”; II 345 28 “y dijo á la esforzada y *no forzada*”; II 298 10 “él se halló una y muchas veces en la estancia de la por mí y *no por él engañada* Antonomasia” (where the idea negated is referable to the verb, with the intervening agent and its preposition); II 471 4 “vieron el mar, hasta entónces dellos *no visto*.”

Ultimately, the participial adjective may follow *no*, which negative then assumes the value of the privative *un-* in English, or similar prefix: I 172 14 “y como *no usadas* [unaccustomed] á semejante lenguaje, mirábanle y admirábanse”; I 215 17 “por estos *no acostumbrados* pasos”; II 16 24 “en tierra remota y *no conocida*”; I 400 24 “en caso tan *no pensado*”; II 75 30 “y en albricias destas *no esperadas* como buenas nuevas”; I 152 title ch. XIV “donde se ponen los versos desesperados del difunto pastor, con otros *no esperados* sucesos.”

With *visto*, the meaning *unseen* must be varied so as to meet the circumstances. The phrase has the meaning *unexpected, unparalleled, rare, or never before seen*: II 165 26 “y con *no vista* desenvoltura, se sacó el estoque”; I 209 27 “esta tan *no vista* y tan temerosa aventura” (and II 109 6, I 428 5, 346 31).

⁴Cf. ch. I, 11, B.

The practice is much less frequent with the others: *Corb.* 19 3 "ante sea *non* *conosçida*"; *Amad.* 204 B 38 "la insola *non* *Fallada*"; *Patr.* 39 10 "y *no* *conoscidos* caballeros"; *Luc.* 256 23 "dexa los *non* *fieles*."

(2) *No otro*—Infrequently we find *no* with almost the force of *ninguno*, but when found with *otro* it may be a question of verbal ellipsis or else an alternative for *ni más*. *Y no* is a more emphatic exclusion than that which might be used in its stead, namely, *ni otro*: II 350 31 "porque no habia mas de aquel asiento, y *no otro* servicio en toda ella"; II 202 33 "y que esto es lo que sabe, y *no otra* cosa."

It is only in *Amadís* and the *Corbacho* that a few other instances occur: *Amad.* 323 B 55 "*no otro* alguno sino Dios lo sabe"; 372 A 18 "un caballo é una lanza tomaré, é *non otras* armas mas de las que traigo"; *Corb.* 249 22 "Nuestro Señor Dios es el que faze todas las cosas, e *non otro* fuera dél."

D. *Limiting other parts of speech*—Often there is ellipsis of the verb, leaving *no* apparently modifying a noun or other part of speech. At times the negative is practically equivalent to *ni* correlative. The limitation is made of a noun, adverb, phrase, or almost any member: I 443 15 "la falta de camisas y *no sobra* de zapatos" (a noun of quantity made negative, a case resembling that of indirect negation to affirm⁵); I 328 5 "y, como *no siempre* la fortuna con los trabajos da los remedios"; II 41 22 "*no en mis dias*, marido"; II 296 7 "desta hermosura, y *no como se debe* encarescida de mi torpe lengua"; I 169 33 "tenia el ventero por mujer á una *no de la condicion* que suelen tener las de semejante trato"; II 321 18 "por lo cual los *no de principios* nobles deben acompañar la gravedad"; I 504 11 "porque con el gran D. Bernardino de Velasco... no valen ruegos, *no* promesas, *no* dádivas, *no* lástimas."

In the other works, the situation is substantially that found in the *Quijote*, except for a possible wider separation of the negative from its object, and it is often difficult to determine just whether it is the particular term or the nexus that is receiving the *no*; but since in Spanish the *no* most properly refers to the verb, it may

⁵Cf. ch. I.

argue that when it is found before other members. it restricts them specially: *Cel.* 53 13 "y no sabes que... *no de solo pan* viviremos" (in which *bread alone* is negated, and not the idea of *living*); 9 6 "no tienen modo. *no* razon. *no* intencion"; 28 6 "que no los que poco tienen son pobres, mas los que mucho desean"; *Amad.* 383 B 16 "é así se fizo, que *no ocho dias* despues... fué ganada toda la isla"; 401 B 24 "é si alguna parte les deja. *no* gloria ni fama se puede decir"; *Cifar* 318 9 "ca la justiciã del rey allega a los omes a su seruiciõ, e la [non] justiciã derramalos"; *Luc.* 255 28 "el rrey rrey rreyna, el rrey *non* rrey *non* rreyna"; *Corb.* 61 20 "[la mujer es] *non constante*... contra el varon firme amor *non teniente*" (which, together with the next following, shows negation of the old present participle); 238 1 "e asy Nuestro Señor permitiente, que quiere decir *non contradiziente*"; 283 11 "Nuestro Señor dar ser e *non ser*" (and again with *ser*, 320 6); 24 5 "que su vida fue dolor... *non dormir*, mucho velar, *non comer*..."

E. *Que no*—Special negation is often introduced by *que* before a *no* used in denial or contradiction after an affirmative.⁶ This is the inverse of the construction *not... but*. The negated term is completely excluded. One might properly term this *que no* that of adversative correction. An examination of its use, especially in the *Quijote*, will show that this emphatic negation is elliptical in form, logically discriminatory, and rhetorically parenthetical, at least in tone. It is felt that its use is related closely to that in which *que* introduces the cause or reason, equivalent to *for*. One may or may not render it as *and not*, but merely as *not*. With *que no* one feels that the contradiction or denial is more emphatic and that it is corrective and contradictive of a previous term, statement, act, or belief, either expressed or implied; while *y no* and *no* are not so restricted. The denial is usually made of but a single term and rarely of a verb, unless the verb be substantial: I 136 29 "eclipse se llama, amigo, *que no* cris" (contradicts Don Quijote); I 232 3 "y montas, que no sabia yo autorizar el litado, dijo Sancho. Dictado has de decir, *que no* litado, dijo [corrected] su amo"; II 29 10 "personajes, *que no* presonajes, Sancho

⁶Cf. Meyer-Lübke, §§699-700; G. de Diego, p. 303; Llorens, p. 56.

amigo, dijo Sanson"; II 53 6 "reducida has de decir, Sancho, dijo D. Quijote, *que no* relucida"; II 325 20 "erutar, Sancho, *que no* regoldar"; II 73 30 "el diablo, el diablo me ha metido á mí en esto, *que no* otro" (and also: I 435 11, 528 30, II 239 16, 264 28, 321 15, 355 9).

The other authors examined make less frequent use of this construction, and although the examples show contradiction or denial, it is not commonly expressed in such vigorous, declaratory judgments as those of the *Quijote*: *Cel.* 13 24 "vesle aquí, vesle. Yo me lo abraçare, *que no* tu" (and so: 9 4, 90 5, 101 3); *Cartas* 326 B 13 "ansi la llamábamos, *que no* priora"; 274 A 13 "que esta cabeza me hace ser corta [brief], *que no* el no tener que reñirla"; *Cifar* 244 25 "e muestrales en commo con esta muger fueste [antel] casado con ella, *que no* con la reyna" (where *ante* may be partly responsible for the use); *Corb.* 66 2 "a quien con tales perjurios, *que no* juramentos, engaño"; *Amad.* 307 A 22 "Grasandor calló, *que no* dijo nada" (which seems to corroborate my belief that the use is closely akin to the causal *for*); 206 B 55 "no fuyais; que hombres son, *que no* diablos" (and similarly: 53 B 35, 136 B 11, 390 B 55).

F. *Y no*— The following examples will serve to show that when there is no energetic contradiction or correction, but a milder connection which is copulative rather than adversative, *y no* is employed. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a mere addition of a negative clause and that the verb is closely connected. One notes, too, entire absence of terseness, denial, correction, or interjection: I 254 23 "y que si esto tampoco fuese de su gusto, que á lo ménos saliese á pedirlo *y no* á quitarlo á los pastores"; I 440 9 "dando á entender que se llamaba María, *y no* Zoraida"; I 523 24 "porque á vuestro pesar y al de vuestro asno, este es jaez *y no* albarda"; I 530 7 "porque se trocaron las albardas, *y no* las cinchas y jáquimas" (and also: I 245 25, 523 29, II 153 33, 164 25).

G. *No que*— We have seen how *que no* serves to interpolate or add a contradiction or denial wholly exclusive of the genus denied. While *no que* is formally a denial or contradiction, it does not entirely exclude the term denied, but rather admits it as

being a weak statement of the status of affairs or indicates that it is a denial of the apparent degree. This is a somewhat rare turn, which I do not find in the other authors examined. A study of the instances in which it is found—twelve in all—will readily indicate that it corresponds to the forceful, rhetorical device common in English, expressed variously as follows: “to say nothing of.” “not to mention.” “not merely.” “let alone.” The somewhat extravagant affirmation of a term is through it justified and strengthened by the denial of the ordinary, less vivid term that usually applies in such cases. Rodríguez Marín, who quotes ten of the examples, thinks it probable that the locution is an Italianism and that it is equivalent to *no ya* or *no sólo* and usually synonymous with *que no*.⁷ Cejador attributes it to Italian influence, and quotes, in addition to eight of the *Quijote* examples, its use in Alonso López el Pinciano.⁸ Other commentators add nothing of importance,⁹ though Díez quotes an example, with reference, which is reminiscent of the style of Cervantes. The rare use of this *no que* in authors other than Cervantes seems to lend support to the belief that this is the Italianism *non che*, so common in Cervantes’ favorite author, Ariosto. If one scrutinizes the following examples, keeping in mind the distinctions suggested above, it will appear that *no que* is not truly synonymous with *que no*. One might characterize it more properly by saying that it is equivalent to *no... a secas*. The first example is noted by Marín; the second, I find unattested by any one: I 276 37 “que en solo oirle [el brebaje] mentar se me revuelve el alma, *no que* el estómago” (in which, as in the remainder, there is admission of the term following *no que*, but which is admitted as being far insufficient to describe the situation adequately; and *que no* would deny and nullify the term to which it refers); II 536 35 “porque merecía cada azote de aquellos ser pagado á medio real, *no que* á cuartillo”; I 389 26 “todos los extremos de bondad y de hermosura que Camila tenía, bastantes á enamorar una estatua de mármol, *no que* un corazon de carne”; II 296 19 “que todas estas partes y gracias son

⁷Cf. Marín, II 296 9.

⁸Cf. Cejador, I, §205, 8 and 9.

⁹Cf. Llorens, p. 53; Díez, p. 1062; G. de Diego, p. 303.

bastantes á derribar una montaña, *no que* una delicada doncella"; II 333 20 "por mí digo que daré orden que ni aun una mosca entre en su estancia, *no que* una doncella"; II 517 1 "que me hará hacer juramento de no tocarme jamas al pelo del sayo, *no que* al de mis carnes"; II 37 25 "que os ha de dar un reino, *no que* una insula"; II 195 8 "aunque esté metido en las entrañas de la tierra, *no que* del monte"; II 98 18 "que Sancho al tocarla [empanada] entendió ser de algun cabron, *no que* de cabrito"; II 525 24 "agora es tiempo, hijo de mis entrañas, *no que* escudero mío, que te des algunos de los azotes"; II 287 18 "seguia á los tres un personaje de cuerpo agigantado, amantado, *no que* vestido, con una negrisima loba" (a case in which *no vestido* would have negated the participial adjective completely, rendering it, possibly, equivalent to *desnudo*); II 426 34 "que no se le ha de dar nada por ser gobernador, *no que* de una insula, sino de todo el mundo" (where there is an inversion of the order, and as the turn contains a negated term, that of greater degree is expressed by the positive phrase introduced by *sino*, much after the fashion of the construction with *not only... but*, going to prove the nature of *no que* when not in the inverted order).

The only instance in the other works that can be compared with the locution in the *Quijote* is one from the *Corbacho*, in which *no que* [not merely] is followed by the verb: 24 9 "e sy muere va su ánima donde penas crueles le son aparejadas por siempre jamas, *non que* son las tales penas e tormentos por dos, tres o veynte años."

H. *No más*— Weigert, in his discussion of the locution *no más*, or *no...más*, first indicates that the use falls into two types: that with the comparison expressed and that with it unexpressed. Then he makes the following three points. (1) When the subject is a term to which the exception is made, the verb may be in the plural. (2) It is a mixing of the turns *no más* and *no...sino* that gives rise to *no más sino*: 143 b "*no hay más sino* pagar luego." When *de* and *que* are used together, either one alone would have sufficed: 234 a "...y *no por más de que* porque piense el que los oye, que de alta, próspera y buena ventura han venido á la desdichada y baja en que los miran." (3) As in Old French, the

negative need not be with the verb, but may stand immediately before *más*: 398 b "ruégote que hagamos treguas *no más de* por una hora"; 58 a "estaban atentas *no más de* a escuchar la agudeza con que los dos famosos pastores disputaban"; 214 a "acompañada *no más que de* mis criadas"; 471 b "yo soy enamorado, *no más de* porque es forzoso que los caballeros andantes lo sean."¹⁰

I feel, however, that *no más sino* is not necessarily attributable to a mixing, but rather to an ellipsis, that of the verb after *sino*, which renders the construction justifiable, whether *sino* be taken as exceptive or as adversative. This presupposes the natural pause that may be made after *más*, which here is probably equivalent to *otra cosa*. Let us illustrate the completions referred to, taking Weigert's example: 143 b "por eso no hay [que hacer] *más, sino* [hay que] pagar luego," or "no hay que hacer otra cosa *sino* [hay que] pagar luego." The simultaneous occurrence of *de* and *que* is scarcely due to insistence on the ordinary prepositional regimen. The *de* is but the conjunction which from an early date has served for *than*.¹¹ It seems that Cervantes uses *de* for *than* after a negative, not only to avoid cacophony of contiguous *que*'s, but also when it is followed by some neuter, or indeclinable, term, such as a preposition, conjunction, or the like, as in the examples quoted from Weigert. In 214 a, two contiguous *de*'s would have resulted; hence the *que*. In a note to Bello's discussion of the conjunction here, Cuervo states that when the meaning is *no more than*, he prefers *de*, and when *only* is intended, then *que*.¹² Irrespective of the matter of the conjunction—which, by the way, would not affect negation—we know that *no más*, whether in the incomplete, absolute use or in the expressed comparison, was and still is a common locution to express *only, merely, just*. This being true, it is but natural that it should be applied to whatever idea the speaker wished to negate. Marín, for example, does not consider its use worthy of a note. The absolute *no más*, meaning *no*

¹⁰Weigert, §15, to which the numbers used for the examples in this paragraph refer.

¹¹Cf. Llorens, §§40-42, who does not even attempt to distinguish between *de* and *que*.

¹²Bello, §1017 and nota 126.

more, enough, etc., need not come into the discussion; e. g., II 333 19 "*no mas, no mas, señor D. Quijote, replicó la duquesa.*"

(1) *In unexpressed comparisons*— This abbreviated formula is very common throughout Latin America today, threatening to supplant *sólo* and *solamente* to render *only, just, merely*. One commonly hears among the Mexicans, for example: "*quiero verlo no más*"; "*quiero no más probarlo*"; "*no más quiero tocarlo.*" There are early examples of this elliptical formula postpositive, often by way of emphasis as *y no más*, and it persists even in Spain.¹³ The following will serve to prove that it is found today both in Spain and in America: *Electra*¹⁴ p. 22 3 "*á usted no, porque no tengo confianza... Un poquito no más*"; 31 4 "*y qué nombre debo darle?... El de amigo no más*"; 31 14 "*nada de eso: me sorprendo no más*"; Coester's *Anthology*,¹⁵ p. 101 14 (Rubén Darío) "*yo soy aquel que ayer no más decía el verso azul y la canción profana*"; p. 208 3 (González Martínez) "*él pasea su gracia no más, pero no siente— el alma de las cosas ni la voz del paisaje*"; p. 225 18 (Amado Nervo) "*todo lo olvido,— porque soy sólo corazón, soy ojos— no más*"; *Spanish-American Readings*,¹⁶ p. 166 17 (Manuel Acuña) "*y al delirar en ello,— con la alma estremecida,— pensaba yo en ser bueno— por tí, no más por tí*" (the only literary example that I find showing the prepositive formula); Lenz 450 5 "*lo supe anoche no más.*"

I quote all the instances to be found in the *Quijote*, which are also cited by Weigert: II 436 19 "*una [palabra] no mas quiero que me escuches*"; II 483 8 "*y no digo esto porque quiero examinar el ingenio de vuesa merced, sino por curiosidad no mas*"; I 208 9 "*y espéreme aquí hasta tres días no mas*"; I 234 23 "*él le respondió que por enamorado iba de aquella manera. ¿Por eso no mas?*"; I 573 31 "*la fama de su belleza se comenzó á extender por todas las circunvecinas aldeas; ¿qué digo yo por las circunvecinas no mas, si se extendió á las apartadas ciudades.*"

In the other works examined, there appear but two instances,

¹³Cf. Llorens, §§40, 42; Weigert, p. 186.

¹⁴Pérez Galdós, *Electra*, ed. Amer. Book Co., 1902.

¹⁵Alfred Coester, *An Anthology of the Modernista Movement in Spanish America*, Ginn and Co., 1924.

¹⁶Nina L. Weisinger, *Spanish-American Readings*, D. C. Heath and Co., 1929

the second of which seems to constitute an instance of the pre-verbal use, despite the appearance of the comma in the modern text, since an adversative construction is scarcely expected here: *Corb.* 200 24 "las espaldas anchas, corcobado, gibado de amas partes o de vna *non mas*"; *Cifar* 206 5 "del rostro fue herida? Señor, dixo Garfin, *non* [...] *mas* fue vna naçençia que nasçio y."

(2) *In expressed comparisons*— To the examples quoted by Weigert, I add the following: I 522 9 "de que sea albarda ó jaez, dijo el cura, *no* está en *mas de* decirlo el señor D. Quijote"; II 383 23 "*no* tiene que hacer *mas que* boquear"; I 365 12 "*no mas*, dijo el cura, *que* estos dos" (that is, "only these two books would I burn," which shows that in case of the complete comparison, the negative may be separated from the remainder of the locution even by parenthetical matter).

I. *No...pero, no...mas*— Although *sino* is the most common conjunction introducing the clause after a term specially denied by *no*,¹⁷ at times we find some other—*pero* occasionally, *mas* rarely: I 148 21 "*no* es [Dulcinea] de los antiguos Curcios, Gayos y Cipiones romanos... *pero* es de los del Toboso de la Mancha"; I 142 30 "y *no* digo yo hacer tardanza de un dia, *pero* de cuatro la hiciera á trueco de verle"; I 420 23 "donde Camila estaba casi en el término de acompañar á su esposo en aquel forzoso viaje, *no* por las nuevas del muerto esposo, *mas* por las que supo del ausente amigo."

J. *No sólo*— Very frequent is the special negation of *sólo* in the main clause followed by the dependent clause introduced by *sino*, *mas*, or *pero*. By far the majority of cases presents *no sólo no solamente*,... *sino*, occasionally *pero*, and very rarely *mas* or some other word.¹⁸

(1) *With "sino," "mas," "pero"*: I 381 7 "y aun *no solo* pretendes esto, *sino* procuras que yo te la quite á ti"; II 281 8 "que *no solamente* piden que se azote un escudero, *sino* un gobernador"; I 404 35 "Camila *no solo* guardó la lealtad á su esposo, *sino que* le dió venganza"; I 306 30 "*no solo* no se cansaba en oirle, *sino que* les daba mucho gusto las menudencias que contaba"; I 481 28 "que

¹⁷Cf. ch. VII.

¹⁸Cf. Cejador, p. 386, 11-14; Llorens, §120, p. 161.

no solo no nos perderíamos, *mas* que tomaríamos bajel"; I 398 28 "*no solo* no la osaba reñir, *mas* dábale lugar" (note that in both examples with *mas*, the *no sólo* is followed by *no*); I 345 9 "con las de la buena fama que este caballero tiene *no solo* en España, *pero* en toda la Mancha"; I 127 9 "que *no solo* no traen celadas, *pero* quizá no las han oído nombrar" (and similarly with *pero*: I 318 22, 360 4, 521 20, II 406 20, 342 6, 477 35).

(2) "*No sólo*" for "*no sólo no*"— There is at least one instance of the special negative *no sólo* meaning *no sólo no*, or equivalent to *no ya*, *no... a secas*, or *ni siquiera*; that is, the combination negatives the verb and at the same time limits it through *sólo*: I 69 22 "pero acordándose que el valeroso Amadis *no solo* se había contentado con llamarse Amadis á secas, sino que añadió el nombre de su reino y patria." The only mention of the phenomenon, as far as I can ascertain, is that by Prof. G. T. Northup, who comments on it in his edition of three plays of Calderón's, where the meter proves that there was not an omission of *no* through a printer's error: p. 14 l. 1285 "y esto me habéis de creer,— si algo cree quien dice que ama,— que *no sólo* soy su dama,— mas que no le puedo ser."¹⁹ The other two instances found show the use with *pero*: Marcos I 317 12 "señor, vos vais tras un imposible que *no solamente* [no] es hacedero, pero os tendrán por loco cuantos supieren que dais en ese error" (where the editor erroneously supplies the *no*); *Guz. de Alf.* II 296 "que yo quiero, *no sólo* dejar de satisfacer esta merced, empero aquí mi hijo, el día que saliere, dará para guantes doscientos escudos y yo quedo por su fiador."

The phenomenon must be due alike to a careless logical lapsus—the suppression of *no* in a phrase introduced by *no*—and to confusion with *sólo* meaning *even*,²⁰ in such sentences as the following: *Amad.* 183 A 16 "no fueran osados, *no solamente* decir aquello... mas ni aun venir á mi corte"; 347 B 33 "no hay hoy en el mundo emperador ni príncipe que á él se pueda igualar; é *no solamente* igualar, mas que..."; 284 B 46 "que fueron tales y

¹⁹Calderón, *Three Plays*, ed. G. T. Northup, D. C. Heath and Co., 1926; Cf. note to l. 1287, p. 304.

²⁰R. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, Madrid, 1908, p. 392, 8.

tantas, que *no solamente* ser fechas por otro, mas ni pensadas..."; 330 A 39 "nunca quiso, *no solamente* ponerse en justicia, mas ni oirla"; 11 A 8 "era allí con ellas el Doncel del Mar, que *solo* [even] mirar *no* la osaba"; 72 A 44 "que *solo* [even] mirar *no* la osaba"; 81 A 55 "é la [lanza] del Rey quebró tan ligero, que *solo* [even] *no* la sintió en la mano"; 34 B 10 "hiriéronse de muy grandes golpes sin *solo* [even] un poco holgar"; 303 B 34 "*no* te cumple *sola* una hora en este mundo vivir"; Luc. 50 21 "et *sola mente* [even] *no*l' quiso dar el papa que comiese por el camino"; Corb. 325 16 "que *non* es de poner en lengua nin *solo* [even] tener emaginacion..."

(3) Interesting, too, are the following examples showing other ways of expressing *not only... but*: I 270 9 "porque te hago saber que *no solo* me trae por estas partes el deseo de hallar al loco, *cuanto* el que tengo de hacer en ellas una hazaña" (where *cuanto* must have come in from a mixing with the usual correlative formula *no tanto... cuanto*); II 533 28 "y con licencia de vuestra grandeza me quiero quitar de aquí por no ver delante de mis ojos *ya no* su triste figura, sino su fea y abominable catadura."

K. *No sino*— Some thirteen times in the work, and confined to the second part, we find *no sino*, chiefly with the imperative, much after the manner of *no más* of present-day colloquial speech.²¹ In almost every instance, it is found in the vulgar mouth. I find no treatment of this phenomenon anywhere, although Garcés says of it, quoting two examples from the *Quijote*: "es expresion familiar, y graciosa, y que lleva gran ponderacion."²² Cejador, with seven of the examples that I quote, paraphrasing Garcés, and likewise lacking an adequate explanation, describes it: "es graciosa la ponderacion familiar *no, sino*, derivada del gran empleo de *sino* tras una frase negativa, como: 'No se diga mas, *sino*.'"²³ Wiggers includes in his examples illustrating *no sino* for *only* one from the *Quijote*, thus recognizing the conjoint use.²⁴ To me it seems to be another formula for *only, just, if only,*

²¹Cf. H. (1) above.

²²Garcés, I 221.

²³Cejador, §207, 2.

²⁴Wiggers, §55, 3, a.

elliptical, perhaps, for *no... sino* or *no hay sino* commonly found with this meaning. The first two examples below show a comma after *no*, which may indicate that in those two the *no* is the true reiterative negative; but in the remainder such a *no* would be entirely uncalled for, as there is no previous negative referred to nor contrast made. Marín consistently writes a comma before *sino*. It is readily seen, however, that *no sino* here is an inseparable phrase. It is interesting to note here in passing that Marín does not admit the comma with II 465 34 below, thus accepting the phrase as such.²⁵ The Princeps, however, shows comma in the first example only: II 38 3 "*no, sino* llegáos á mí condicion, que sabrá usar de desagrado con alguno" (that is, "you have only to," "just," and even here, I doubt that the *no* is reiterative); II 42 16 "*no* [...] *sino* estáos siempre en un sér, sin crecer ni menguar" (where the use is after a question and, therefore, may be reiterative); II 465 34 "¿has echado de ver si son de los que nos buscan, ó de los que nosotros buscamos? *No sino* de los que bucamos"; II 250 9 "*no sino* tomárase con ellos, y viera cómo escapaba de sus manos"; II 387 13 "y cuando te hicieren tus tus con alguna buena dádiva, envásala: *no sino* dormíos, y no respondais á las venturas y buenas dichas que están llamando"; II 327 32 "*no* habrá falta que se me parezca: *no sino* hacéos miel, y paparos han moscas"; II 370 13 "y que si me dan ocasion han de ver maravillas: *no sino* hacéos miel, y comeros han moscas"; II 161 22 "que si no son postizos, no los he visto más luengos ni mas rubios en toda mi vida! *No sino* ponedla tacha en el brio y en el talle, y no la compareis á una palma"; II 327 27 "llegáos, que la dejan ver, *no sino* popen, y calóñenme, que vendrán por lana, y volverán trasquilados"; II 259 9 "*no sino* lléguese á hacer burla del mostrenco, que así lo sufriré como ahora es de noche"; II 266 10 "*No sino* ándense á cada triquete conmigo á dime y diréte"; II 272 2 "*no sino* pónganme el dedo en la boca y verán si aprieto ó no"; II 384 29 "á fe, que agora que no hay pariente pobre, gobiernito tenemos; *no sino* tómese conmigo la mas pintada hidalga, que yo la pondré como nueva."

2. *Nexal negation*— Since the verb has almost preëmpted

²⁵Marín, VI 246 21.

the use of *no*, it follows that so-called nexal negation—the negating of a whole idea composed of two or more elements, that is, of the combination of such ideas—is the rule. Instead of “tengo no dinero,” which would be a positive sentence containing the special negation of *dinero*, it is evident to the Spanish student that “no tengo dinero” must be the order. It has been pointed out above that one may construe the negative with the dependent infinitive, although the rule in Spanish is not to do so, but to construe it with the main or auxiliary verb. Llorens ably refutes the argument²⁶ of Lenz, who fails to see the negation of the nexus.²⁷ It will be necessary to point out but a few instances of this nexal negation.

A. *Attraction of the negative to the main verb*—The practice is noted chiefly with auxiliary *deber* and *deber de* expressing inference,²⁸ occasionally with *pensar*, and frequently with the formulae *no... sino* and *no... más que*: II 417 23 “Mira, Ricote, eso no debió estar en su mano”; I 256 34 “que persona que tales hábitos traía no debía de ser de ínfima calidad”; II 18 33 “aunque imagino que no debió de ser muy fino”; I 438 26 “y por esto no debe de haber respondido ni responde”; II 286 3 “y no le [el rucio] pienso dejar aunque me llevarán á ser gran turco” (where the real negation is referable to the act of abandoning, and not the intention); II 159 37 “y así jamás pienso verte mudo, ni aun cuando estés bebiendo ó durmiendo” (comparable to the preceding, except that *jamás* is the negative that is attracted to primary position); I 93 8 “y no parece sino que el diablo le traía á la memoria los cuentos”; I 223 18 “que no semeja sino una bacía de barbero”; II 404 14 “yo no hago sino reirme”; I 205 27 “no hay que hacer sino retirarnos”; II 75 7 “que no tiene mas que hacer vuesa merced sino picar á Rocinante.”

The other works yield a few interesting cases of this protraction of *no* which logically refers to the dependent infinitive or clause: *Cartas* 222 A 17 “tengo tan poco lugar, que an no la pensé escribir” (that is, “my intention was not to write even you”);

²⁶Cf. Llorens, p. 11, §5; p. 40, §20; p. 43.

²⁷Cf. Lenz, p. 277.

²⁸Cf. Weigert, p. 158.

4 A 29 "Carleval se fué, y *no creo* para volver" (where, in careful Spanish, we should find "y *creo* [que se fué] para no volver"); *Cel.* 137 25 "que nuestro amo, si es sentido, *no temo* que se escapara de manos de esta gente" (that is, "I think, feel sure, that he will not"); *Cifar* 150 11 "*e non les semejava* que era de aquella tierra" (meaning "and it seemed to them that they were not..."); *Luc.* 83 8 "pero al cabo dixol' que era verdat, mas que *non* era menester que omne del mundo lo sopiesse" (where the meaning is "it was necessary that not...").²⁹

B. "*No por*" of insufficient or rejected cause— Characteristically Spanish is a *no por* (usually plus *eso*), taken before the verb, to deny that the logically-expected result was realized; that is, that which might have been deemed a sufficient cause was inadequate to bring about the effect. An example in English will serve to illustrate: "But *not on that account* did he cease weeping," which, expressed in the more natural and forceful manner, with a negated main clause plus the resumptive-negative tag, would be, "He did *not* cease weeping, *not even* for that [as one might have expected]." It is easily seen that the negative is referable both to the verb *cease* and to the phrase *that account*. As the phrase renders the entire proposition negative, we deem it proper to term the construction an instance of nexal negation.³⁰ The last two examples below, from the *Quijote*, show that the construction is applicable to a clause of negative result or rejected cause with *porque*: II 9 5 "pero *no por* esto dejaron de visitar á su sobrina y á su ama"; I 324 24 "mas *no por* esto dejó Dorotea de seguir su cuento"; II 331 31 "pero *no por* eso el mayordomo es la Dolorida, que á serlo implicaria contradicion muy grande" (that is, "That is no reason for concluding that the mayordomo is the Dolorida"); II 448 17 "pero [no] *por* eso³¹ se detuvieron los apresurados corredores"; II 129 19 "pero *no por* llorar y lamentarse dejaba de aporrear al rucio"; II 69 10 "Sancho, Sancho... tiempos hay de burlar, y tiempos donde caen y parecen mal

³⁰Cf. Llorent, p. 52, §23; Jespersen, p. 47.

²⁹Cf. Tobler, I, 196.

³¹Princeps: "Pero *no por* eso."

las burlas: *no porque* yo diga que ni he visto ni hablado á la señora de mi alma, has tú de decir tambien que ni la has hablado ni visto" (that is, "My saying does not necessarily warrant your saying, etc.," the presence of the subjunctive further corroborating the notion of insufficient or denied cause");³² I 218 10 "*sosíéguese* vuestra merced, que por Dios que me burlo. Pues *porque* os burlais *no* me burlo yo, respondió D. Quijote" (a case in which the negative is taken with the main verb, but even so, a strict translation would give a false meaning to the sentence, as follows: "Because you are jesting, I do not jest," which evidently is not the meaning intended, but rather "The mere fact that you are jesting does not necessarily argue that I am jesting").

I find relatively little use of the turn elsewhere: *Cartas* 149 A 17 "*no por* eso le dejaria de servir"; 232 A 30 "*ni por* eso deje de hacer allá lo que conviene" (an instance, to be sure, of *ni* instead of *no*); *Cel.* 77 1 "que en vna hora no se gana Zamora; pero *no por* eso desconfiaron los combatientes"; 88 6 "estouo [Virgilio] en vn cesto colgado de vna torre, mirandole toda Roma; pero *por* eso *no* dexo de ser honrrado, ni perdio el nombre de Virgilio" (where again the *no* is construed with the verb, yet with the same significance as if it preceded *por*); *Amad.* 85 B 48 "mas *por* eso *no* dejaba él de hacer maravillas" (showing the inverse of the ordinary as in case of the preceding example from *Cel.* and those from *Patr.* following); *Patr.* 170 6 "pero *por* eso *no* me desdigo de lo dicho"; 184 9 "mas *por* eso *no* dejó de concebir gran odio contra Harpago."

C. *Some anomalous uses*—The four examples below serve to illustrate the strong tendency to attract the negative to position before the verb and as early as possible in the sentence. Although they do not easily admit of definite classification, I do not deem it amiss to include them under nexal negation, for in each case the whole proposition is negated, despite the position of *no*. Since such a use seems to be due to some stylistic urge on the part of the author, the examples stand out as strikingly irregular and unique: I 199 1 "en estas y otras pláticas les tomó

³²Cf. Bello, §1133.

la noche en mitad del camino, sin tener ni descubrir donde aquella noche se recogiesen, y lo que *no* habia de *bueno* en ello, era que perecian de hambre”³³ (presenting an instance the meaning of which is “and the bad part of it was”; of course, this mitigating of a positive term by means of negating its opposite is common enough, and constitutes *litotes*);³⁴ II 504 9 “*no*, dijo Ricote, que se halló presente á esta plática, hay que esperar en favores, ni en dádivas”³⁵ (constituting an instance in which the author indulges in a parenthetical aside, as well as a vocative, after he had written but the initial negative, and must have intended to continue his line of thought with some positive verb and the use of some such special negative as *inútil*, thus: “no, Ricote... es inútil esperar....” for *no hay que* has the meaning *it is useless, vain*, or the like; and the remainder of the sentence plainly indicates that the positive *hay que* is not intended); I 153 13 “de tanta confusion, *no* las arenas— Del padre Tajo oirán los tristes ecos.— Ni del famoso Bétis las olivas” (where, strictly interpreted, the negation falls on *oir*); I 154 1 “y entre tantos tormentos, nunca alcanza— Mi vista á ver en sombra á la esperanza,— No yo desesperado la procuro;— Antes por extremarme en mi querella,— Estar sin ella eternamente juro” (where the use of *no* can hardly be explained, unless we assume that it is erroneously employed for *ni*, since there is not a special negation of *yo* in order).

³³Cf. Weigert's discussion of this example, p. 159, b.

³⁴Cf. ch. I, §11, A.

³⁵Cf. Weigert's discussion of this example, p. 159, c.

CHAPTER III

PLEONASTIC NO

Although in modern Spanish, as well as in the other Romance languages, double negation is confined to use with the so-called partial, auxiliary, or supplementary negatives,¹ that is to say, an adverbial reinforcement of a preceding negative, in earlier times the practice frequently took in even the absolute negative *no*, variously designated as pleonastic, redundant, illogical, or irrational *no*. It is difficult to determine just what linguistic or psychological principles are responsible for this repetition of the negative after it has been once enunciated: whether it is due to anxiety on the part of the speaker lest the dependent proposition not be sufficiently understood as negative; to his disregarding or forgetting the fact that the preceding main proposition has already been made negative; to confusion resulting from intervening or parenthetical matter; or to his failure to keep in mind that the preceding main proposition connoted negation.² A study of the circumstances under which this pleonastic *no* is found reveals that it is due chiefly to the fact that certain verbs and verbal expressions are not patently negative, but rather convey the negative idea as a matter of exclusion or restriction, or else it is negative only indirectly or through implication. It is this weakness, implication, or indirectness that leads the speaker to lose sight of the exact nature of the original expression. It is a well recognized principle of language that the negative often tends to stand as near as possible to the term which is to be restricted, irrespective of what has gone before. The eschewing of double negation of any kind in English and in the other Germanic languages is relatively modern and is doubtlessly due in part to the

¹Cf. ch. V.

²For a full discussion of double negation in English and other languages, cf. Jespersen, ch. VII.

influence of the grammarians, who, basing their position upon strict logic and upon the almost hard and fast rule of Latin syntax, have relentlessly maintained that two negatives necessarily affirm. Yet pleonastic negation in English is usual in vulgar speech and was formerly very common in even that of the cultured.³

1. *After verbs of weakly-exclusive force*— It is to exclude or reject after verbs or verbal expressions which are weakly, indirectly, or distantly negative that pleonastic *no* has been most evident in Spanish. Weigert, in his brief discussion of the verbs of this type, shows that the use of pleonastic *no* was not limited to fear and kindred verbs, as Bello has stated,⁴ but that it occurs also after expressions involving doubt, denial, forbidding, excusing, avoiding, preventing, doing without, and lacking (elaborating on Diez and Meyer-Lübke),⁵ together with certain instances that he deems unclassifiable. But he fails to advance any noteworthy or convincing explanation or solution for the occurrence of the phenomenon, save that it seems reminiscent of Latin *ne*. Wiggers' treatment is also inadequate.⁶ Llorens objects vigorously to the theory that there was a crossing or confusion of ideas in the mind of the speaker such as that suggested by Tobler and Meyer-Lübke, and declares: "Pero esta explicación, psicológicamente insuficiente, ya que no se produce confusión ni duda alguna correspondiente en el espíritu del que escucha o lee tales frases, es manifiestamente inaplicable a varios de los casos en que puede emplearse la negación después de los verbos referidos."⁷ It is manifest that Llorens has completely misapprehended the meaning intended by those authors. The term *confusion* by no means intimates that there is in the mind of the speaker any doubt or hesitancy productive of disorder or entanglement in his enunciations, but merely that he is subconsciously aware of one or more

³*Ibid.*, ch. VII.

⁴Cf. Weigert, §12, pp. 147 ff., referring to Bello, §983.

⁵Cf. Diez, 1075, §4; Meyer-Lübke, III, §§705-708.

⁶Wiggers, p. 178, §51, 4, d.

⁷Llorens, p. 167.

different ways of expressing his idea, and, by reason of a subtle fusing or telescoping of these simultaneous influences, he uses the additional negative at the precise moment it is felt to be most necessary. My feeling is that it is this eagerness for entire clearness that leads to the introduction of the additional negative by way of a sort of negative relay which spontaneously and subtly offers itself to the needs of the speaker. Perhaps Llorens would have found less difficulty had the *confusion* been referred to as *conceptual fusion* or *contamination*. And all this is equivalent to saying that there is in the mind of the speaker an unawareness of the negative import of the primary proposition (whether the connotation has been lost, weakened, or modified), seconded by a feeling for negation due to "una reminiscencia del *ne* latino, desaparecido en los romances.... o sencillamente a la tendencia de colocar una negación explícita delante de los conceptos que se quieren excluir," as Llorens himself agrees.⁸ In order to understand at once the *confusion* theory, we have but to take into consideration the very factors referred to by Llorens, namely, the Latin *ne*, loss or weakening of meaning, and the attraction of *no*. It is natural, I think, that, in the course of vigorous or emotional speech, the speaker should feel a strong need for bolstering when he realizes that the original proposition is now somewhat remote and he himself does not sense a sufficient degree of restriction in it. Jespersen terms the phenomenon *paratactic negation*, the second term being negative,⁹ and he staunchly upholds the practice as being logical and justifiable, incapable of producing in the spirit of the hearer aught but the desired effect, and objectionable only to the most hypercritical mind. I should say that it is through parataxis that the use of both Spanish *no* and Latin *ne* is effected. Even if the dependent clause be considered one of negative purpose or result, from the modern standpoint there yet remains a repetition of negation. Taking into account the fact that these verbs are at times followed by positive terms, it is but logical to conclude that there must have existed some

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁹Jespersen, p. 75.

uncertainty and vacillation regarding their exact connotation—a situation that leads us to infer that, after all, the appearance of *no* here is merely a further manifestation of the already notable tendency toward negative strengthening which is at all times characteristic of the language.

I have attempted to classify and list all instances of this practice in the *Quijote*, and I have sought to explain any instances where a satisfactory solution is not at once apparent.

A. *After expressions involving fear*—Weigert, who doubtlessly follows his predecessors in this respect, gives foremost place to the use with expressions of this type,¹⁰ and states that it was very common in older Spanish and abounds in Cervantes. But the data presented by Llorens cast grave doubt upon the accuracy of Weigert's statement concerning its frequency in old Spanish.¹¹ At this point Weigert correctly brings out that Bello¹² was in error in thinking that this use of *no* presupposed the omission of the conjunction *que*. An examination of the instances quoted in the following pages will convince one that *que* is not rare. The fact of its retention would argue that the *no* may not be considered a pure conjunction, as is Latin *ne* in clauses of negative purpose or result, but that it is an instance of paratactic construction. To be sure, the phenomenon may be reminiscent of Latin *ne*,¹³ but I feel that even in that language it was a question of parataxis, such as that suggested by Jespersen for English.¹⁴ It is well to note just here, however, that the practice in Spanish is extended to use of complementary infinitive, directly or through *de*, where the construction may be a sort of appositive, ablative of specification, objective or descriptive genitive, or infinitive phrase of respect wherein or of cause. Compare from the *Cartas* 325 B 39 "por el miedo que tengo de no ayudar á hacer ofensas á Dios," which is, as I attempt to show in the following pages, equivalent

¹⁰For history of the matter, cf. Weigert, §12, p. 147.

¹¹Llorens, p. 172.

¹²Bello, §983.

¹³Weigert, §12, citing authorities.

¹⁴Jespersen, ch. VII.

to *mitigated fear* or *desire that not*,¹⁵ as *desire* or *hope fearfully not* to offend or *the fear that I have*, namely, *not to offend*.

I have arrived at the following conclusions regarding this *no* to introduce what is today considered a positive proposition after fear: first, the dependent proposition is negative; second, it is either one of negated result or purpose, or else is paratactic or appositive; and, third, it is properly negative because of the modified, or secondary, meaning of *fear*, through loss of the negative connotation, and its mitigated significance renders it synonymous with *desire with misgivings*, *hope fearfully*, or *trust regretfully*. It is used in the cases in question without connoting expectation of any serious disadvantage, of bodily hurt, or of dread, but rather expresses anxiety, uncertainty, and doubt. For this use in English, we have but to compare the following definition of fear and illustrations found in the Century Dictionary: "to be in anxious uncertainty; doubt. 'If you shall see Cordelia (as fear not but you shall).' 'Ne're feare, for men must love thee When they behold thy glorie.'" ¹⁶ We are all very familiar with its acceptance of solicitude in such as the following: Lady: 'Has my husband already left, sir?' Gentlemen: 'I fear so, Madame. I fear he must have gone by the short cut.'" This fictitious example furnishes an everyday use of the word *fear* with the meanings as suggested above. *Temer*, then, has assumed an affirmative connotation in much the same fashion as have verbs of negative doubt or denial, such as that in the examples in §§B and C below. It is by no means uncommon to hear in the mouths of the careless or relatively illiterate speaker such crossings or contaminations as: "I don't doubt that he didn't do it," or "I don't deny that he didn't do so," for "I don't doubt that he did it" and "I don't deny that he did so."

Further instances of this secondary sense of fear, that of doubt or uncertainty, are afforded by the somewhat rare Spanish examples that follow, in which we have but to compare English *doubt whether*, *wonder whether*, *uncertain whether*, *fearful*

¹⁵Cf. García de Diego, p. 282, note 2; Wiggers, p. 178, §d.

¹⁶*Cent. Dict.*, Fear, II, 2.

whether: II 499 28 “temía Sancho *si* quedaria ó no contrahecho Rocinante ó deslocado su amo”; *Corbacho* 233 15 “ha miedo *sy* el byen que faze *sy* le es plazible a Nuestro Señor o non; ha miedo que *sy* quando muriere *sy* averá fechas tantas buenas obras, e tales que sea mereçedor de alcanzar purgatorio”; II 493 19 “*esperando*, ó por mejor decir, *temiendo* perder la vida que ya me cansa” (in which the corrective *temiendo* further indicates the close kinship between *fear* and *expect* or *hope fearfully*).

The *Patrañuelo* has, together with six examples of *no* after *temer*, the following significant examples of *no* after *pensar* and *respecto*, which strongly corroborate the theory of the connotive notion of *fear*, *wonder*, etc.: 29 5 “cuando la Marquesa se despertó, preguntando por el niño a las dueñas y escuderos, y viendo que no le hallaban, *pensando* que alguna fiera *no* le hubiese comido”; 66 23 “*pensando* el alcalde que *no* fuese maña del mercader por *no* pagar el hallazgo prometido, dijo”; 191 18 “y viendo que Estacio no parecía, llamó a Julián, *pensando no* fuese aquello algún juicio de Dios”; 182 5 “Harpago... no lo quiso matar, por *respeto* que si el Rey moría *no* quedase el reino sin heredero” (in which, as in the following example, *respecto*, connotes, in addition to the notion of *cause*, something akin to *hope*; that is, it introduces a clause of motivation or intended result, after the manner of the usual wish: “Reciba mis deseos *porque* tenga Vd. feliz Año Nuevo”); 86 6 “pues como descabalgase en el patín de su casa y entrase muy de quedo en la cámara por *respecto* que si dormía su mujer *no* la despertase”; 113 1 “la una [razón] *por temor que no* se alzase con la tierra, la otra *porque no* viniese a noticia del Rey” (where *porque* alternates with *por temor que*, thus corroborating the theory of negative result clause).

The *Corbacho* yields several instances of this emotional connotation of *pensar*, where the sense is that of *worry*, *concern*, etc. In this connection we have but to recall, with similar acceptance, *cuidar*, *cuidado*, *cuitar*, *cuitado* (from *cogitare*) and *pesar*, *to grieve* (from *pensare*). Of the four examples quoted, only the first presents the *no* in question: 17 5 “porque el amor asy es en *sy* tanto delicado que es todo lleno de miedo e de temor, *pensando* que aquel o aquella que ama *non* se altere o mude de su amor

contra otro" (where further evidence of the emotional value of *pensar* is offered in the use of the dependent subjunctive); 24 4 "quantos, dí, amigo, viste o oyste dezir que en este mundo amaron que su vida fue dolor e enojo, *pensamientos*, sospiros e congojas, non dormir [e] mucho velar. non comer, mucho *pensar*, [e] lo peor [of all these disagreeable experiences] mueren muchos de tal mal e otros son priuados de su buen entendimiento"; 151 4 "en esto lança las cejas, asyentase en tierra. pone la mano en la mexilla, comiença de *pensar* e avn a llorar de la malenconia"; 155 23 "e luego, él partido, la muger començó de *pensar* vn dya, otro dia, vna noche e diez noches, tanto que ya rebentaua de *pensamiento* e vasqueaba de coraçon que lo non podia soportar."

Further illustrative of this principle are the following: *Amad.* 97 A 4 "é con *recelo* del caballo quede *non* matase, juntóse mucho con él"; 99 A 38 "mas *temo* de aquel traidor que *non* faga algun engaño"; 52 B 25 "mas *temo* de [for] otra doncella, mi compañera, a quien tomaron una arqueta, que *no* reciba algún daño"; *Marcos* II 92 11 "porque andaba con un ceñuelo con que a todos nos traía suspensos, a mí de amor y a los demás de *temor* *no* enfermase de aquella pesadumbre"; II 195 22 "que como yo tenía algún *temor* de algún daño de su parte, ellos lo tenían de mí *por que no* revelase lo que había visto."

Let us now examine the conditions under which primary or certain fear will appear, for one might naturally ask why the so-called pleonastic construction did not generalize after verbs of fear. When there is felt, not mere suspicion or *hope that not*, but a considerable degree of certainty or reasonable expectation of impending danger, disadvantage, or bodily hurt, which the speaker would avoid, then the primary meaning of *temor*, *miedo*, *recelo*, etc., is employed with the infinitive or a clause in the indicative or in the subjunctive—the mood most closely akin to the future indicative, itself the most common tense of the indicative used after certain fear. From my investigations—which include several very long works and which are fairly representative of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries—I have been struck with the tendency to use the indicative mood after primary fear when there is fair certainty of the occurrence feared, and that the future

tense here is the most frequent or else the periphrastic substitute *ha de* plus the infinitive. Of course it follows that, in case of past fearing, the conditional (past future) tense follows the same rule, along with its corresponding substitute *había de* plus the infinitive. I have found a few instances, but very rare, of its being followed by the indicative present, imperfect, or preterit, other than those tenses of *haber* indicated. The subjunctive mood is also found with certain fear just as it is with the pleonastic instances. I should have liked to furnish definite and conclusive proof with examples, but the cards for the annotating of all instances of fear would have mounted into the thousands. And it is possible that an investigator may have made a study of this matter of tense and mood for at least some of the works.

The following data indicate how infrequently in the works examined expressions of secondary fear plus pleonastic *no* appear as compared with expressions of fear in general, or primary fear. *Quijote*: primary, numerous; secondary, twenty-four. *Cartas*: primary, numerous; secondary, fifteen. *Amad.*: primary, numerous; secondary, seven. *Patr.*: primary, infrequent; secondary, six. *Cel.*: primary, numerous; secondary, four. *Laz.*: primary, frequent; secondary, one. *Cifar*: primary, infrequent; secondary, two. *Marcos*: primary, frequent; secondary, two. *Grail*: primary, frequent; secondary, none. *Corb.*: primary, frequent; secondary, none. *Luc.*: primary, infrequent; secondary, none. *Conq.*: primary, frequent; secondary, none.

Is the frequency of the *no* in the *Cartas* and in the *Quijote* due to the length of the works? I rather doubt it. The *Amadis*, which is longer than *Don Quijote*, furnishes us but seven instances, three of which present a divergence of use¹⁷—in other words, relatively few, even fewer than the *Celestina*, a work much shorter, and which, had it been extended to twice or three times its length, might have doubled or trebled its instances. *Lazarillo*, a very short book, has one example, and *Marcos de Obregón*, of considerable length, has but two. The very lengthy *Cifar* also has but two.

¹⁷Cf. 1, A, sixth paragraph.

The *Spanish Grail Fragments*, the *Corbacho*, *Lucanor*, and the first two hundred sixty pages of the *Conquista*, according to my belief, show no examples. As I have already indicated, Llorens¹⁸ says that it is relatively rare in the earlier literature. If we take into consideration, where possible, the training and dates of the different authors, may we not conclude that it is probable that pleonastic *no* after expressions of fear is a popular phenomenon and that it seems to have grown more in favor during the latter part of the fifteenth century, and flourished most during the latter half of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries, especially with writers who were not primarily university men or scholars?

The following examples are all the instances of this use which I have been able to find in the *Quijote*. It seems to me that they will bear the test of the solution that I have submitted. To the examples referred to by the commentators I add five: I 540 3; II 312 24; II 368 4; II 219 29; and I 305 13.

(1) *With "que"*: I 540 3 "y *temiendo* D. Fernando y Cardenio que Sancho *no* viniese á caer del todo en la cuenta" (the only instance of a verbal form plus *que*); I 391 22 "*temerosa* [Camila] de que *no* pensase que Lotario habia visto en ella alguna desenvoltura"; I 503 21 "Clara, *temerosa* de que Luscinda *no* la oyese"; I 253 10 "*temeroso* de algun desman y de que *no* me la pidiesen por de hurto"; II 359 16 "*temeroso* de que el gobernador *no* ejecutase su cólera"; I 218 8 "con *temor* de que su amo *no* pasase adelante"; I 222 6 "calló Sancho con *temor* que su amo *no* cumpliese el voto"; II 116 27 "si *no* fuera por *temor* que con la compañía de mi yegua *no* se alborotara ese caballo"; II 537 6 "D. Quijote, *temeroso* de que *no* se le acabase la vida"; I 319 31 "por *temor* que por descuido mi honestidad *no* se viese en peligro"; II 491 35 "todo esto le dije *temerosa* [hoping] de que *no* le cegase mi hermosura, sino su codicia."

(2) *Without "que"*: II 26 10 "*temiase no* hubiese tratado sus amores con alguna indecencia"; II 337 4 "*temió no* le rindiese"; I 358 24 "*temia no* le cogiese su amo á palabras"; II 312 24 "¿qué

¹⁸Llorens, p. 172.

mucho [what wonder—no wonder] que *tema no* ande por aquí alguna region de diablos...?"; II 482 3 "*temiendo no* llegase á los oídos"; II 368 4 "y aun *temiendo no* viniese por él la tanda"; II 219 29 "*temiendo á cada paso no* le entrase alguna bala" (where the positive *alguna* further strengthens the affirmative notion of the dependent clause); I 305 13 "*temeroso no* me faltase lugar"; I 190 22 "que aun *corre peligro* Rocinante *no* le trueque por otro" (a case of implied idea of fear, contingency).

(3) *With dependent infinitive*: II 213 30 "*temeroso de no* ser hallado de la justicia"; I 327 10 "con el *miedo de no* ser hallados"; I 468 32 "el *temor de no* volver á perderla."

A count of the expressions of fear followed by pleonastic *no* will reveal that there appears to be little preference regarding the use or the omission of the conjunction *que*. Of course, the conjunction could not be used in case of the dependent infinitive.

The *Celestina* offers us relatively little pleonastic negation, and in the few cases with expressions of fear, it is interesting to note that *que* is not employed: 149 4 "*temo no* la [cadena] ayan leuado"; 76 13 "en sueños la veo tantas noches, *que temo no* me acontezca"; 50 18 "*temo no* sea mortal"; 133 24 "con *temor no* se la tornen a tomar" (it is of interest to remark here that the author's practice in case of positive clauses after fear is to retain the introductory *que*).

Lazarillo de Tormes has few instances of pleonastic *no* to offer. The following example will serve to illustrate its use after expressions of fear: 28 27 "yo vue *miedo que con* aquellas diligencias *no* me topasse con la llaue" (where, owing to the inversion of the word order, it is difficult to judge whether the *que* would be the rule); 42 4 "*temiame* [hoped] *no* acceptaria el convite."

In the *Conquista de México* we find little if any pleonasm, and with *fearing*, none.

Santa Teresa's *Cartas* furnish us with no few good examples of pleonastic *no* after *fearing*. It is not particularly significant that her constructions here do not show the conjunction *que*, except in rare, special instances, since its omission is a marked feature of her style in all types of clauses. A possible reason for its occasional use may be deduced from the last three quotations

that follow: 42 B 17 "he *miedo* no se pierda por una parte"; 166 B 26 "aunque *miedo* tengo no le hayan movido esas cosas"; 325 B 39 "por el *miedo* que tengo de no ayudar á hacer ofensas á Dios"; 79 B 19 "debe de ser el *miedo*, que trayo, de no me asir á cosa de ella"; 288 B 6 "*temo* no sea engaño"; 268 A 13 "*temo* no los gaste en otra cosa"; 73 B 8 "*temia* no la desasosegase"; 261 B 25 "solo *temo* no compre algo que derrueque á mi padre" (the affirmative *algo* proving the proposition to be affirmative); 174 A 19 "yo *temo* ...no le suceda alguna tentacion" (another instance corroborated by the positive *alguna*); 167 A 37 "*temo* no torne á escrebir por la Compañía á mí ú á alguna de estas hermanas" (a third instance where an affirmative in the dependent clause proves that clause to be affirmative); 213 A 24 "como he dicho, tengo *temor* no haga el demonio á esta pobrecita de Beatriz, que haga el mal recaudo (que an de esotra tengo menos temor, que sabe mas). no la tienta en que se vaya" (in this disjointed sentence there appear two instances of the pleonastic negative, and the multiplication thus loosely of clauses, separated only by commas, leads us further to believe in the theory that in case of pleonastic negation after this type of verb, the negative clause is almost independent and is paratactic); 268 B 24 "mas yo he *miedo* no la [licencia] dé el provincial" (she trusts that he will not); 57 A 35 "cierto que tengo *miedo*, que por quitarlos de costa, no se la demos mayor" (the conjunction could not be dispensed with here, due to the intercalation of the phrase with *por*); 67 B 24 "yo vengo con *cuidado* de que vuestra reverencia no se vea apretada" (in this example *cuidado* is equivalent to *anxiety*, *trouble*, *apprehension*, and as its regimen is most frequently *de*, the conjunction could not be omitted); 268 B 8 "que yo *temo* mas, que no pierdan el gran contento, con que nuestro Señor las lleva, que esotras cosas" (where even the slight separation through *más* may have suggested the need of the *que*, though it may be equally due to a confusion with the idea of comparison that the clause contains).

A study of all these authors will reveal that when the expressions of fear are actually tantamount to expressions, not of something really feared, but rather of *wonder*, *misgiving*, *apprehension*, *trusting against hope that*, then it is likely that the

pleonastic *no* and the subjunctive will be used; and when it is not a question of doubt or anxiety, but is equivalent to almost certainty, then the dependent clause is strictly affirmative and is regularly characterized by the indicative mood.

B. *After verbs of denying and doubting*— Verbs of this type, as they denote mental action, present the *no* much in the same manner as does *fearing*, where it seems evident that the speaker does not feel that the negative idea has appeared, is unconscious of the restriction or limitation connoted by these verbs, or feels that it is insufficiently negated.¹⁹ To him, *negar* and *dudar* are synonymous with *to say* and *to know*,²⁰ and the dependent negative clause is due to the same causes as those that I have suggested under *fear*.²¹

To the examples with *negar* quoted or referred to by Weigert,²² I add one, I 564 21, which, to my knowledge, is not cited by the commentators, and two, I 218 30 and II 492 29, which are cited only by Marín.²³ Of the seven instances of *negar* to be found in the *Quijote*, three are affirmative, three directly negative, and one indirectly negative. To the examples with *dudar* cited by Weigert,²⁴ I add II 35 17, also noted by Marín.²⁵ Of the three examples that I quote, it will be noted that one is with affirmative doubt and the other two are negative by implication. All the examples furnished by Llorens²⁶ show affirmative *negar*, while those with *dudar* show both affirmative and negative.

The situation as found in certain other works, to which I refer without quoting, is as follows: after *negar*, two examples each from *Amadís*, *Corbacho*, and *Cifar*, one from *Marcos*, and one from *Lucanor*; after *dudar*, four examples from *Amadís*, two from *Cifar*, and none from the others.

The following examples of pleonastic *no* after verbs of *denying* and *doubting* are met with in our text: I 562 26 "*negando*

¹⁹Jespersen, p. 75, (3); Meyer-Lübke, III, §706.

²⁰Llorens, p. 171, note.

²¹Cf. I, A above.

²²Weigert, p. 149.

²³Marín, II 132 6 and VI 312 1.

²⁴Weigert, p. 149.

²⁵Marín, IV 108 12.

²⁶Llorens, p. 171.

que *no* ha habido en el mundo Amadises"; II 247 29 "*negando* este señor, como ha *negado*, que *no* ha habido en el mundo ni los hay caballeros andantes"; I 564 21 "*niéguenme* asimesmo que *no* fué á buscar las aventuras"; I 564 35 "no puedo yo *negar*, señor D. Quijote, que *no* sea verdad"; II 492 29 "Lo que los dos sentimos (que no puedo *negar* que [*no*] le quiero) se deje..." (where the editor improperly omits the original *no*, but in a footnote shows the original reading in the Princeps); I 218 39 "no *niego* yo, respondió D. Quijote, que lo que nos ha sucedido *no* sea cosa digna de risa"; I 563 35 "¿pues quién podrá *negar no* ser verdadera la historia...?" (where the rhetorical question, equivalent to a negative statement, renders the sentence triply negative, when only one negative is necessary); II 35 17 "se *duda* que *no* ha de haber segunda parte"; II 133 18 "¿quién *duda*, señor D. Diego de Miranda [says D. Quijote], que vuesa merced *no* me tenga en su opinion por un hombre disparatado y loco? Y no sería mucho que así fuese, porque mis obras no pueden dar testimonio de otra cosa" (an instance admitting of two possible interpretations: first, that this is a true interrogation which says "who doubts that you do not consider me mad?"; and, second, a rhetorical question equivalent to a negative, meaning "nobody doubts that you consider me mad"); II 119 1 "¿Pues hay quien *dude*, respondió el Verde, que *no* son falsas las tales historias" (negative doubting being implied in the use of the rhetorical question and by the subjunctive *dude*).

It is curious that we find no instances of the pleonastic *no* with *denying* and *doubting* in the works of the other prose writers whom we have already cited. One would have expected to encounter no few examples of it at least with Santa Teresa, who, as we have seen, was not at all averse to using it under similar circumstances.

C. *After verbs with exclusive or privative force*— In the older literature one is struck with the extensive use of so-called pleonastic *no* after verbs of a privative or limiting force, such as preventing, hindering, restraining, rendering unable, avoiding, exempting, excusing, freeing, and refraining. In case of those denoting failure, we find the same privative idea expressed indirectly. The fact that very frequently verbs of restraint govern a direct object

seems to strengthen the theory of negated result, with loss of negative connotation. Here again operate those factors that lead to conceptual telescoping,²⁷ and there must have been a struggle between the ideas *cause that not* and *prevent, so that not*. It is **very** likely, too, that the privative *de* with a negative complementary infinitive is construed as a kind of descriptive genitive or appositive phrase of negated result, much like the use of *para* and negative purpose. How these restraint verbs with the dependent clause of negated result or with dependent infinitive by way of an ablative of specification or respect-wherein may have been influenced by the construction with a negative statement²⁸ plus a negative clause of denied result, may be seen from the following quotations. Those with *no poder que no*, or *de no* plus infinitive, have their Italian parallel in that quoted by Diez.²⁹ The locution *to keep from*, which is very unstable in the Romance languages, is arrived at in the spoken language as follows: *no poder estar que no*, *no poder estar sin* (heard among the Mexicans); *no poder sin*, *no poder sino*, and *no aguantar de* (attested by Chilians). One has but to compare in this connection the common English idiom *not to stand*. The same idea will appear especially noticeable in the examples from the *Patrañuelo*, which even show the omission of *no* in the dependent proposition:—

Amad. 397 A 51 “¿en qué tierra tan áspera ni qué gente *tan* brava *no* podrá resistir que habido *no* sea?” (in which, as in the following, the result is obvious because of the use of the adverb of degree, *tan*, etc.); 244 A 36 “*no* pudieron *tanto* las armas resistir que cortados *no* fuesen con la carne é los huesos”; 38 A 28 “mas *no* puedo estar de *no* facer lo que quisiédes”; 132 B 53 “Orina *no* pudo estar que *no* riese” (a clause of *que no* = *sin que* clause—plainly of denied result; similarly: 176 B 50, 191 A 7, 263 A 49); *Patr.* 161 23 “a cabo de días, *no* fué hecho esto tan secreto que Leonarda lo vino a saber”; 24 4 “*no* pudo *estar* de abrazalla y besalla”; *Cifar* 483 19 “*non* podieron *estar* que *non* reyesen” (and

²⁷Cf. ch. III, 1.

²⁸Cf. Jespersen, p. 46 (Wordsworth), “I did not step into the well-known boat without a cordial greeting”; p. 61 (Stevenson), “no one can read it and not be moved.”

²⁹Diez, p. 1076, (2), “io *non* staró ch'io *non* adombri.”

similarly: 303 8, 385 11, 411 16); 8 1 "no deue desesperar de lo *non* poder acabar"; 236 11 "ca la codicia *non* se *farta* [que] *non* quiera sienpre [nuevas] cosas"; 357 16 "lo primero que deue ome *guardar*. esto es, que *non* oluide el bien fecho" (an excellent instance of the appositive nature of such negative clauses, for here the clause is grammatically the predicate of *esto*); *Luc.* 211 12 "pues el se *guarda* quanto puede, porque *nol'* venga desauentura" (where the clause of intended result is introduced by *porque* instead of the more colorless *que*).

In order to show the widespread distribution of these exclusion verbs, I list below all those quoted by Llorens,³⁰ together with the frequency with which such verbs occur in the works that I have examined. Llorens quotes examples comprising: *contradecir*, *defender*, *descuidar*, *desesperar*, *desviar*, *escapar*, *estorbar*, *excusar*, *fallecer*, *guardar*, *guarecer*, *guarir*, *impedir*, *perdonar*, *renunciar*, *quitar*, *sacar*, *toller*, and *vedar*. The *Corbacho* shows: *abstenerse*, 2; *defender*, 1; *estorbar*, 1; *guardar*, 4; *vedar*, 2. *Amadís* has: *cuidar*, 1; *defender*, 10; *desviar*, 1; *detener*, 1; *errar*, 2; *escapar*, 2; *escarnir*, 1; *estar*, 5; *estorbar*, 3; *excusar*, 14; *faltar*, 1; *guardar*, 5; *mamparar*, 1; *perder*, 1; *prestar*, 2; *quitar*, 5; *rehusar*, 1; *remediar*, 1; *resistir*, 3; *salvar*, 1; *socorrer*, 1; *sofrirse*, 2; *tardar*, 4; *tener*, 1; *tirar*, 1. The *Grail* is lacking in variety: *defender*, 1; *guardar*, 1. The *Cartas* present few such uses: *descansar*, 1; *estorbar*, 1; *inconveniente para*, 2; *quitar*, 1. In the *Celestina* I find none. The *Cifar* yields these: *defender*, 4; *desesperar*, 1; *detener*, 3; *escapar*, 1; *excusar*, 1; *estar*, 4; *guardar*, 19; *impedir*, 1; *vedar*, 1; *fartarse*, 1. *Lucanor* contains few: *embargar*, 1; *excusar*, 6; *guardar*, 9; *mengua*, 1; *sofrir*, 1. The following offer very meager use: *Patr. constreñir*, 1; *excusar*, 1; *Marcos. estorbar*, 4; *guardar*, 1; *huir*, 1; *Conquista. desengañar*, 1.

The foregoing testimony leads us to conclude that this *no* must have been fairly common in earlier times, and the following examples justify us in saying that its use is by no means rare in the *Quixote*.

(1) *After preventing and hindering.*

³⁰Cf. Llorens, §122.

Estorbar— Of the three instances with this verb, Weigert gives two.³¹ I add the third: II 41 34 “¿por qué quieres tú ahora *estorbarme* que *no* case á mi hija...?”; I 581 23 “le *estorbaba* que á su amo *no* ayudase”; I 408 8 “porque le fué forzoso valerse de su industria y de su fuerza para *estorbar* que Camila *no* le diese.”

Quitar— To the three examples of Weigert's, I add a fourth: I 408 16 “no será tan poderosa, que en parte me *quite* que *no* le satisfaga”; II 541 6 “que le *quité* de que *no* le palmease las espaldas”; II 129 5 “á estas añadió otras razones con que *quitó* las esperanzas de que *no* habia de dejar de proseguir” (where, instead of the dependent clause and the subjunctive, we find the periphrastic *haber de* in the indicative, a turn not uncommon in the older authors); I 398 30 “pero no los [estorbos] pudo *quitar* que Lotario *no* le viese una vez salir.”

Detener— I do not find in Weigert or elsewhere any mention made of Cervantes's use of this verb. The following examples indicate that it may be used in the same manner as other verbs illustrating the phenomenon through a clause of negated result. Llorens quotes an example with *detenere* in the Latin original:³² “vetustas parentalis erroris nos ita *detinuit*, ut nec veraciter Iesum Christum Dominum crederemus, nec catholicam fidem sinceriter teneremus.” Prior to the *Quijote*, I find these instances: *Cifar* 328 21 “e asy los guardaua en el arca del su coraçon, que se *non* [pudo] *detener* que *non* pediese merced”; 107 3 “e *non* se podria mas *detener* que *non* muriese”; 52 23 “non es menester de nos *detener* de *non* enbiar por el”; *Amad.* 23 B 15 “hablando siempre con la doncella, que por él era *detenida*, que se *no* partiese.”

The examples from the *Quijote* are patently parallel: I 365 30 “y puesto [Diego García de Paredes] en un montante en la entrada de una puente, *detuvo* á todo un innumerable ejército que *no* pasase por ella”; II 5 13 “como si hubiera sido en mi mano haber *detenido* el tiempo que *no* pasase por mí.”

Imposibilitar— This verb means *render difficult*, *powerless*, *helpless*, *incapacitated*, etc., therefore, *hindered*, *prevented*. Of the several instances of its use, only the first, also quoted by

³¹Weigert, p. 150.

³²Cf. Llorens, p. 170, *F. Juzgo* 12, 2, 16.

Weigert,³³ can be said to constitute a true case of pleonastic *no*. The second is given here merely to illustrate a parallel pleonasm with *poder*: I 390 31 "yo me hallo tan mal sin vos, y tan *imposibilitada* de *no* poder sufrir esta ausencia"; I 507 14 "á quien tiene amor *imposibilitado* de *poder* entregar su voluntad á otra."

The *Cartas* furnish two cases of a verbal expression denoting hindrance or obstacle followed by *para* and pleonastic *no*, unless, indeed, the dependent proposition be construed as an instance of negative purpose or result: 66 A 17 "y como es tan amiga de andar en todo y tan aliñosa, ha de ser *inconveniente* para *no* sanar tan presto"; 269 A 2 "hállanse *inconvenientes* para *no* abrir puerta en esto."

(2) *After verbs of excusing or avoiding.*

Excusar— Weigert gives instances from Cervantes's other works; but I can find nowhere cited the single example from the *Quijote*: I 215 7 "no se pudo *excusar* de que algunos *no* llegasen á sus narices."

Perdonar— In the following example, *perdonar* may be understood as *spare*, *dispense with*, *do without*, with the dependent clause as the direct object.³⁴ *Le* after *no* here refers to Urrea's versified translation of the *Orlando Furioso*: I 99 8 "y aquí le *perdonáramos* al señor capitan que *no* le hubiera traído á España y hecho castellano; que le quitó mucho de su natural valor."

Rehuir— Of this verb I find but the single example as quoted by Weigert: I 314 35 "pues ningun mal puede fatigar tanto, ni llegar tan al extremo de serlo, mientras no acaba la vida, que *rehuya* de *no* excusar siquiera el consejo."

(3) *After verbs denoting failure, lacking, wanting*— With such verbs, the privative notion is expressed indirectly, that is, not through a transitive verb connotative of force exerted, but rather through analogy or confusion with a kindred expression which is its opposite.³⁵ *Faltar*, for instance, is confused with *succeed* or *need*; and with that meaning, the *para no* or *de no* would be

³³Weigert, p. 151.

³⁴Cf. Jespersen, p. 29 (5).

³⁵Cf. Meyer-Lübke, III, §707; Jespersen, p. 78 (5).

correct. Weigert quotes an instance of *faltar poco que no* elsewhere in Cervantes, together with the two examples that I quote from the *Quijote*,³⁶ restricted to use with *para* or *de* plus the infinitive. The crossing is often due to the indirect or negative construction employed, such as the third example below and those in §(4): I 229 8 "piensa el caballero que es de pena de su partida, traspásasele el corazón, y *falta poco* de *no* dar indicio manifiesto de su pena" (that is, "He needed a great deal in order not..."); I 324 26 "fué tanta la cólera y rabia que se encendió en él, que *faltó poco* para *no* salirme por las calles" (that is, "I was so angry that much effort was needed in order for me not..."); II 207 19 "no *faltaron* algunos ociosos ojos, que lo suelen ver todo, que *no* viesen la bajada y subida de Melisendra" (where there is evidently an influence of the negative type: "She did not descend and mount, that some curious eyes did not see it," and a crossing of the constructions "no *faltaron*... que viesen," "no dejó de haber... que viesen," "no lo hizo... que no lo viesen," and "no lo hizo tan... que dejase de verlo"); I 453 10 "halléme el segundo año... en Navarino bogando en la capitana de los tres fanales. Ví y noté la *ocasion* que allí se *perdió* de *no* coger en el puerto toda el armada turquesa" (where the idea in the mind was *to be careless, foolish*; and, too, the possibility of the construction with a phrase of specification or respect-wherein).

Similar uncertainty in the use of verbs denoting failure etc., may be seen in the following: *Luc.* 31 5 "que non consintiría que, pues en todo sodes tan conplido, que oviese en vos *mengua* de *non* cantar mejor que ninguna otra ave"; *Amad.* 39 B 61 "contra los villanos ayudarvos-he; pero en caballero no porné mano; que *perderia* para siempre de *no* ser caballero" (where the meaning *fail* is crossed with *to have opportunity*).

(4) *Through confusion by indirect assertion*— It is because of the indirect manner of making an assertion that the following seemingly unexplainable pleonāsms arise, for which Weigert finds no suitable category,³⁷ together with the example with *perder ocasion* above. Here again, as in the preceding paragraphs, there is

³⁶Weigert, p. 152.

³⁷Cf. Weigert, p. 155 (h).

a mixing of notions. In the first three examples, the redundant *no* is due to the couching of the assertion in an exclamatory condition, and the fourth, to a circumlocutory way of saying "It is evident, it cannot be denied": I 563 17 "que voto á tal, que es tan verdad como es ahora de día; y si es *mentira*, tambien lo debe de ser que *no* hubo Héctor ni Aquiles" (denying the opposite of a term is an indirect way of affirming, which leads to the superfluous *no*); II 454 36 "que me maten, señores, si el autor deste libro que vuesas mercedes tienen, quiere que *no* comamos buenas migas juntos" (where the indirect, punitive apodosis is equivalent to *by no means, it cannot be*, thus rendering *no* superfluous); I 524 10 "porque voto á tal (y arrojóle redondo), que no me den a mi entender³⁸ cuantos hoy viven en el mundo *al revés* de que esta *no* sea bacía de barbero, y esta albarda de asno" (in which the oath, together with the clause following it, is in substance negative, as the use of *al revés* in an indirect way of denying); II 103 3 "por otra parte, veo con los ojos y toco con las manos no ser posible ser el mesmo [D. Quijote], si ya no fuese que como él tiene muchos enemigos encantadores, especialmente uno que de ordinario le persigue, *no* haya alguno dellos tomado su figura para dejarse vencer" (with superfluous *no* doubtlessly induced by the indirect manner of saying "one's senses convince one of the impossibility," or else by the failure to sense the negative notion in *si no fuese que*, which clause constitutes a rather lengthy and involved parenthesis); I 259 18 "puesto que no dejaré por contar cosa alguna que sea de importancia, para *no* satisfacer del todo á vuestro deseo" (where the meaning is "in order to satisfy your wishes"; but here it is possible that *dejar de* may be omitted or understood after the *no* or that *no* is induced by the negative notion connoted by *dejar por contar*); I 555 25 "á lo cual uno de sus criados respondió, que el acémila del repuesto, que ya debía de estar en la venta, traía recado bastante para *no* obligar á *no* tomar de la venta, mas que cebada" (a case in which the second *no* might well have been suppressed, for *no... que* is used solely in negative sentences with the adverb preceding the verb; but the idea *obliging* was the chief

³⁸Cf. Princes: "*a mi a entender*," the evident reading here.

term desired negated, and as the formula with *más que* was also felt necessary, it, too, was further limited).³⁹

The following confusions are of interest: *Cartas* 71 B 35 "no *olvide* vuestra merced de *no* tomar ahora confesor señalado" (where the intended injunction is that he take one); 265 A 14 "no sé qué me traya, que he *descansado* de *no* tener cuenta con él" (in which, through confusion, *no* is superfluous); the *Conquista* 260 A 45 "*desengañado* Xicontencal de que *no* era posible á sus fuerzas lo que intentaba."

2. *In comparisons*— In his treatment of this case, Weigert speaks only of partial, or supplementary negatives, judging the matter conclusively settled by other commentators."⁴⁰ Since these investigators do not discuss the peculiar circumstances surrounding the use of *no* after the comparative and superlative *que*, and do not include the half of the instances appearing in the *Quijote*, I deem it necessary to elaborate. Here again, Llorens objects to the *confusion* theory, which he again misunderstands. He says: "Después del primer término de comparación positivo y de los superlativos figura a veces la negación delante del segundo término del comparativo o de la secuela o de una de las secuelas del superlativo. La presencia de esta negación suele explicarse también, como la que se halla después de ciertos verbos de significado negativo o exclusivo, dubitativo o exceptivo, por una confusión que se produce en la mente del que habla o escribe: los dos pensamientos 'éste es más blanco que aquél' y 'éste es blanco, aquél no lo es más' vendrían a fusionarse en una expresión 'éste es más blanco que no aquél.' Esta explicación no me parece más satisfactoria para esta clase de negación que para la que figura después de los verbos referidos. Creo acertada la que expone V. G. de Diego, indicando que esa negación implica exclusión, de acuerdo con la tendencia general de los idiomas románicos, sin que exista confusión alguna."⁴¹ Then, in a note, he adds: "No he contado los comparativos seguidos de negación y los que carecen de ella para comparar las

³⁹The *Principes* reads *no*, as found in this text. Later editions, notably Cuesta 1608 and Marín, see fit to delete *no*.

⁴⁰Weigert, p. 153 (e).

⁴¹Llorens, p. 173, §123.

cifras resultantes, pero tengo la impresión de que no es exacta la afirmación de Hanssen p. 273: 'particularmente cuando precedía un comparativo, era casi obligatorio el uso de la negación.' Hay textos en que predomina este uso, pero en otros prevalece la omisión de la negación." Although in my readings I have not recorded all instances of normal comparisons, I find from comparative counts that they overwhelmingly outnumber those with pleonastic *no*, which is the rare exception, and I seriously doubt that the *no* predominates in any text. To be sure, repeated negation has always been the rule in case of the auxiliary negatives, such as *nada*, *nada*, *ninguno*, etc. The situation as given by Bourciez, with whom Llorens takes issue, is as follows: "mais il faut observer que du croisement syntaxique entre deux phrases *tu es fresche plus qu'est rose*, et d'autre part *tu es fresche, plus n'est rose*, était résulté très tôt le type *tu es plus fresche que n'est rose*."⁴² Jespersen shows that the phenomenon is to be found in English: "Negation is also implied in expressions with *too* (She is too poor to give us anything = She cannot...) and in all second members of a comparison after a comparative (She is richer than you think = You do not think that she is so rich as she really is); hence we understand the use of the French *ne...* and the development of negatives to signify *than*, as in Swift J. 499 'You are more used to it *nor* I.'"⁴³ Hanssen believes in the *confusion* theory: "en algunos casos, la negación superflua se deriva del latín; en otros. se ha formado en romance por confusión de dos ideas diferentes. Pertenecen á la primera categoría los ejemplos que encierran un término que expresa la idea de temor ó contiene una negación implícita. Pertenecen á la segunda los ejemplos que presentan un comparativo ó los términos *otro*, *antes*, *hasta*, *apenas*. Cuando se dice 'serán mucho ligeros, más que non es el viento,' se ingiere la frase 'el viento no es tan ligero.' No es posible distinguir rigurosamente las dos categorías."⁴⁴ We see, then, that it is not confusion in the manner of enunciating the sentence, but rather of the basic ideas in the mind of the speaker. Add to this crossing

⁴²Bourciez, *Eléments de Linguistique Romane*, p. 370 (c), Paris, 1923.

⁴³Jespersen, p. 37.

⁴⁴Hanssen, p. 273, §645.

of ideas the desire to be sure that the negation of the second member shall be evident, and we have the *exclusion* theory. Admitted that there is the idea of exclusion or negation in all comparisons, why does not the pleonastic *no* generalize? The answer is, as I attempt to show in the following paragraphs, that it is characteristic only of certain types of comparisons—pseudo, or incomplete comparisons, where there is a distinct break in the construction and where the second member is added by way of an adversative contrast or antithesis. Note also that the phenomenon very rarely occurs when the comparison has the simple order, subject plus verb plus predicate, but chiefly when the comparative word precedes the verb or is followed closely by the *que*. I believe it correct to say that the phenomenon grew out of the type of sentence as suggested by Bourciez and Hanssen, where the construction is not originally in the form of a comparison, but with the comparative formula, *más que*, etc., following the completed predicate, and only in case of sentences involving preference and where the adversative rejection of the second member is especially intended. An analysis of the instances found in the *Corbacho*, for example, seems to corroborate this theory: 296 19 “e non oluidaste villas e logares donde creo que lo soñaste *mucho más que non lo estudiaste*”; 247 13 “que sus luengas [lenguas] sin miedo estienden a fablar *más que non conuiene*”; 307 7 “quisyera la Fortuna en aquella ora allende de los Perineos e de los Alpes montes ytalicos alexada estar, *más que no en poder de la Pobreza demorar*”; 194 3 “mas vna dellas [complisyones] señorea el cuerpo *más que non otra*” (and thus fourteen of the twenty-nine examples of pleonastic *no* after comparatives, six of which present a finite verb in the second term); 322 21 “asy que dura cosa es a ninguno querer meterse *más adelante que non deue, nin querer saber más que conviene*” (a case, presenting a term between *más* and *que*, as does the following example); 232 29 “la segunda razon que non há criatura que sy byen quisyere obrar que non *þenga más poderio para ello que non para mal obrar*”; 321 12 “que los meritos de las buenas obras *mucho más* pesarian que *non los vanos pensamientos*” (where, as in ten other examples the order is *más* plus verb plus *que non*); 329 21 “que a mi semblar quedé *más* muerto que *non*

biuo" (the first of but four examples that present the normal order).

I feel confident that an exhaustive study of comparisons of inequality would reveal certain interesting and definite facts regarding the circumstances under which pleonastic *no* is used and those under which its use is not permissible. In brief, the situation, as I find it, is substantially as follows: (1) comparisons without pleonastic *no* overwhelmingly outnumber those containing it; (2) there is a sharp distinction to be made between normal, or true comparisons, and special, or elliptical, since in the former the anomalous *no* occurs very rarely, while in the latter it is frequent; (3) the special type constitutes an elliptical comparison, the first member becoming absolute, the second assuming the guise of a special negation by way of an adversative or rejected alternative; (4) the factor most conducive to this ellipsis is the notion of preference (including desirability, choice, approval, propriety, expediency—utilitarian wisdom) contained in the first term, which renders it absolute; (5) the construing of the comparative word—*más, mejor, mayor, antes, otro*, etc.—before the verb of the first term, tends strongly to render this term absolute of preferred alternative, and the majority of cases do show this anteposition; (6) when a stressed comparative word follows the verb and precedes the term compared, the result is the same as that in rule 5; (7) the absolute construction is also effected by use of the comparative word in the apodosis of an elliptical condition, the verb being in the conditional indicative or the imperfect subjunctive; (8) the delaying of the comparative formula, *más que*, etc., to occupy a position after the completed main predicate may have been provocative of the anomalous negative construction, especially when that formula contains a finite verb;⁴⁵ (9) when, through use of a verb of preference or through anteposition of the comparative word, the first term may be construed as absolute and the second term regarded as an adversative or rejected alternative in anti-

⁴⁵Cf. the first four examples from the *Corbacho* in the preceding paragraph, those from Bourciez (Cf. note 42) and that from Hanssen (Cf. note 44). Cf. also I 484 l "eso, respondió ella, preguntásele tú á Lela Marien, que ella te lo sabrá decir *mejor que no yo*."

thesis to the first, the whole sentence is at once reducible to a construction parallel to the English formulae: *rather... and not* [than]; *better (best)... and not* [than]; *I prefer... and not* [than]...;⁴⁶ (10) it is probable that this stressed tonic *no* is felt necessary in order to separate two *que*'s, as in modern Spanish;⁴⁷ (11) at times there is a verb (finite or infinite) in the second member of both types; yet its presence may have been instrumental in producing the phenomenon of pleonastic *no*;⁴⁸ (12) parenthetical matter, whether brief or lengthy, interpolated between the first term and the delayed second is characteristic of both types, but it may have contributed to the occurrence of the reinforcing *no*.

Let us now see how this fusion must have come about. True comparisons are in form and import affirmative, and those of inequality are closely related to those of equality which employ the formula *as... as*. Even those of inequality admit a relative parity between the two members, merely emphasizing that the first member partakes of the common characteristic to a greater degree than the second, but do not deny or reject the positive share enjoyed by that second member. In case of the pseudo, or incomplete type, the second member is added by way of an alternative repugnant to the first, generally as regards preference, etc. It is, therefore expressed in a tag which is made negative in order to convey the insistence on the idea that it is to be excluded by virtue of its being untenable. As a rule, this construction is to be found in enunciations that involve the speaker's judgment concerning the advisability of an act, and it is often convertible into a sort of elliptical condition of qualified opinion. He begins with such a formal asseveration as *it is better, it seems to me best*, or the like; but after he has virtually completed his

⁴⁶The colloquial English usage with *prefer...than...*, for *prefer...to...* at once corroborates the assertion that there is kinship between the ideas of comparison and of preference. Cf.: "I prefer to stay here than to go with him unarmed."

⁴⁷Cf. Bello, §1140.

⁴⁸Cf. examples in Diez, p. 1077, 5, (1).

thought, he adds, by way of substitution, the alternative, which he denies as being acceptable. Thus it may be concluded that the second term is added as a negative tag or adversative and constitutes an instance of anacoluthon. This ellipsis of a logically-intended comparison of inequality has parallels in the common colloquial expressions: *I love him so [very] much [that...]; I believe as much [as...]; he is so [very] noble [that...]; it is better for you [you ought] to pay it [and not feel condemned about the matter]; I had rather [leifer, better, best, = I prefer to] go with you [and not stay here alone].* The following sentence from Santa Teresa's *Cartas* will serve to indicate just how this construction may have come about: 56 A 11 "de lo demas, *mijor* [mucho] me contentan los de esa tierra, que con los de esta no me entiendo mucho," which, despite its beginning as a comparison, constitutes an independent clause, to which is added the clause of negative cause.

An analysis of the following examples, some in English, others drawn from the *Quijote*, will serve to illustrate further the distinction existing between the real comparison and the apparent; how in the former the two members compared partake of common characteristics, with the second member partially admitted (else no comparison would result); and how in the latter phenomenon this second member is virtually rejected. *Special*: "rather you are mad than [and not] I"; "John is the madder, not I (which at least denies the degree of madness, if not the predicate concerning me); "God has more control over future events than [and not] we poor mortals" (for, through implication, our power is denied, although the denial is couched in terms of a comparison); "it is better that we leave [should leave] at once with a whole skin than [and not] remain here to face certain defeat and perhaps death" (in which the propriety or wisdom of the latter alternative is categorically excluded, although there exist reasons for both procedures). *Genuine*: "John is larger than I" (which does not imply that I am not somewhat large); "he is worse than I" (which may admit that I am partly bad, and, at least, does not deny the possibility of it); I 518 13 "mas fuerza tiene el tiempo para deshacer

y mudar las cosas, que las humanas voluntades" (which does not deny that man can and does change things); I 461 14 "mas eran [las ventanas de la venta] agujeros que ventanas" (where the statement is equivalent to "although they were windows, they resembled holes more," and does not deny that they were windows); II 5 23 "quisiera antes [I had rather] haberme hallado en aquella faccion prodigiosa [at Lepanto], que sano ahora de mis heridas, sin haberme hallado en ella" (both situations are desirable, but the second is less so; however, it must be admitted that *no sano*, since it would amount to a special negation of *sano*, could not have been used here even if the circumstances had called for the denied alternative, for it would mean "than not cured of my wounds"; II 362 22 "y en casos semejantes mejor es huir [admitted as cowardly] que esperar la batalla [ordinarily the part of valor]" (here the admission is that both acts are injudicious, but that the latter is more so—plainly not a denial of this second member); I 145 5 "porque si va á decir verdad, no hace ménos el soldado que pone en ejecucion lo que su capitan le manda, que el mismo capitan que se lo ordena" (a case of a negative comparison of equality, which, therefore, renders the members equal the one to the other; and though this is not strictly in point, yet it goes to prove that genuine comparisons contain little of the negative notion).

In the twelve works that I have carefully examined, the overwhelming majority of comparative sentences are of the genuine type, while those showing pleonastic *no* are relatively few and conform almost without exception to the conditions that I have suggested. The idea of strong denial or antithesis characterizes them all. Furthermore, the great majority of the examples quoted by the commentators present the same set of conditions that I have advanced. The following data go to show the situation as I have found it:

Quijote: with pleonasm, 25; with expressions of preference, 22; of the 3 not with verbs of preference, 2 show the comparative word before the main verb, and the third contains a condition; with the comparative word preceding the main verb, 13; with

comparative word stressed, 15; with *no* between two *que*'s, 3; with main verb in the conditional indicative or the imperfect subjunctive, 6.

Celestina: with pleonastic *no*, 13; with expressions of preference, 10; of the 3 not with preference, 2 show the comparative word before its verb, and the third presents *otro* as the comparative word in the first member, thus allowing a definite pause before the second—*different... and not*; with stressed comparative word, 8; with comparative word before main verb, 8; with *no* between two *que*'s, 1; with main verb in conditional indicative or imperfect subjunctive, 3.

The *Cartas*: with pleonastic *no*, 15; with expressions of preference, 13; with the comparative word before its verb, 7; with stressed, absolute *más* after the verb, 6; with stressed *más* and verb understood, widely separated from second member, 2; with main verb in conditional tense, 2; with *no* between two *que*'s, 2.

Lazarillo: with pleonastic *no*, 2, the comparative word stressed and before its verb, the first with verb of preference, the second with an inversion, the predicate preceding the common verb, which is delayed until after the second member and is in the conditional tense.

Conquista: in 260 pages read, no instance of such pleonasms.

Corbacho: with pleonastic *no*, 29; with verbs of preference, 15; with stressed comparative word, 23; conditional tense, 2; comparison in form of a tag after the main predicate, 14, 12 of which show stressed comparative word (this tag comparison can scarcely be called a true comparison); of these 14, 6 have a finite verb in the second member; of the 23 with stressed comparative word, 11 show it before its verb; of the 29 examples, only 4 present normal order of comparison, verb plus *más* plus predicate; in almost every case, a syntactic pause is easily possible before the second member.

Amadís: with pleonastic *no*, 19; with expressions of preference, 16; with absolute comparative word, 12; with conditional tense, 6; with *no* between two *que*'s, 1; with comparative word before main verb, 8; with tag construction, 3; of the 7 with normal

order, 4 contain strong idea of preference. 2 with conditional tense, and of the remaining 3, two are strongly adversative in nature; none of the 19 shows the characteristics of the genuine comparison.

Grail: with pleonastic *no*, 7; all approach the type of the genuine comparison, but with the second member strongly exclusive; in all cases, the second member contains a finite verb, where in modern Spanish the comparison would show *de lo que*; with comparative word before its verb, 2; with absolute comparative word after verb, 3; none contains a formal verb of preference, nor is the ellipsis device so readily applicable; with conditional tense, 1; with separation of *que*'s none.

Patrañuelo: with pleonastic *no*, 4; all are with strong notion of rejection in second member; with preference verb and preverbal comparative word, 2; with conditional tense, 1; with *no* between *que*'s, 2; comparisons of any kind are relatively infrequent.

Marcos: with pleonastic *no*, 7; all are with verbs of preference; with preverbal comparative word, 5; the remaining 2 contain verbs of preference.

Lucanor: with pleonastic *no*, 9; all show strong rejection; with preference verb, 8, with the ninth showing *no* between *que*'s; with preverbal comparative word, 6.

Cifar: with pleonastic *no*, 54; all emphasize strongly the rejection of the second member; of these, 33 employ verbs of preference, 8 of which contain a finite verb in the second member, of these 33, 24 show the prepositive comparative word, and 9 show it postpositive and absolute; of the 21 that do not use formal verbs of preference, 8 show the prepositive comparative word, while the remainder show it postpositive and absolute; of this last group, 9 contain a finite verb in the second member; of the 15 examples showing a finite verb in this member, 5 show *non* as a means of avoiding alliterative *q* (one being *que non quando*) and 6 are of the type with the comparative formula coming after the completion of the main predicate.

We see, then, that the most persistent conditions for such

pleonasm are (1) expressions of preference, (2) preverbal comparative word, and (3) stressed comparative word after the verb. The following examples readily conform to the conditions that I have suggested. To those quoted by the commentators (nos. 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 17, 19, 23, 24), I add the remaining: II 432 9 "que *mas* quiero ser mujer legítima de un lacayo, que *no* amiga y burlada de un caballero"; II 191 23 "y *mas* quiero tener por amo y por señor al Rey, y servirle en la guerra. que *no* á un pelon en la corte"; I 223 31 "que *mas* vale algo, que *no* nada" (which constitutes a case of the retention of *no* even before the supplementary negative *nada*); II 301 15 "que pluguiera al cielo que *antes* [rather] con su desmensurado alfanje nos hubieran derribado las testas, que *no* que nos asombrara la luz de nuestras caras"; II 533 3 "pues á los vencidos caballeros como él, *mas* les convenía habitar una zahurda que *no* reales palacios"; I 425 32 "y *mas* fácil te será, si en ello miras, reducir tu voluntad á querer á quien te adora, que *no* encaminar la que te aborrece á que bien te quiera"; I 550 33 "y aunque algunas veces he procurado persuadir á los actores, que se engañan en tener la opinion que tienen, y que *mas* gente atraerán y *más* fama cobrarán representando comedias que sigan el arte, que *no* con las disparatadas"; I 508 22 "D. Quijote, que sintió la aspereza del cordel en su muñeca, dijo: *mas* parece que vuestra merced [Maritornes] me ralla, que *no* que me regala la mano"; I 529 28 "en efecto, tanto les supo el cura decir, y tantas locuras supo D. Quijote hacer, que *mas* locos fueran que *no* él los cuadrilleros, sino conocieran la falta de D. Quijote"; I 167 4 "así que, bien puedo yo pasar entre tanta buena gente, que *mayores* afrentas son las que estos pasaron, que *no* las que ahora nosotros pasamos"; I 410 6 "y si es que no hemos de saber dar salida á esto, *mejor* será decirle la verdad desnuda, que *no* que nos alcance en mentirosa cuenta"; II 135 1 "porque *mejor* suena...: el tal caballero es temerario y atrevido, que *no*: el tal caballero es tímido y cobarde" (this being an instance in which the omission of *no* between two independent sentences used as subjects would result awkwardly); II 373 15 "*mejor* es que se juegue en casas principales, que *no* en la de algún oficial"; II 302 20 "cómo, ¿y no fuera *mejor*, y á ellas les estuviera *mas* á cuento, quitarles la mitad de

las narices de medio arriba... que *no* ponerles barbas?"; I 471 35 "¿no es *mejor*... esperar á que vengan bajeles de España y irte con ellos, que *no* con los de Francia?"; I 329 4 "que tengo por *mejor* desterrarme para siempre de ser vista, que *no* verles el rostro"; I 326 21 "y tuve por *mejor* no haber hallado á D. Fernando, que *no* hallarle casado"; I 550 29 "que á ellos les está *mejor* ganar de comer con los muchos, que *no* opinion con los pocos"; I 484 2 "pregúntaselo tú á Lela Marien, que ella te lo sabrá decir *mejor* que *no* yo"; II 262 35 "y aun podria ser que se fuese *mas* aina Sancho escudero al cielo, que *no* Sancho gobernador"; I 271 23 "ansí que, me es á mí *mas* fácil imitarle en esto, que *no* en hender gigantes"; II 134 30 "que así como es *mas* fácil venir el pródigo á ser liberal, que el avaro, así es *mas* fácil dar el temerario en verdadero valiente que *no* el cobarde subir á la verdadera valentía" (observe that the initial comparison is genuine, while the second categorically excludes and, therefore, employs the *no*); II 29 20 "con la experiencia que dan los años estará [Sancho] *mas* idóneo y *mas* hábil para ser gobernador, que *no* está agora"; I 404 25 "¿no fuera *mas* acertado haber despedido á Lotario... que *no* ponerle en condicion..."; II 527 2 "y viniérale *mas* á cuento dormir en una choza solo, que *no* en aquella rica estancia acompañado."

The *Celestina*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, and the *Cartas* of Santa Teresa follow identically the same practice in this regard; while the two hundred sixty pages examined of the *Conquista* reveal scarcely any pleonasm, and none in comparisons. The following constitute those examples of pleonastic *no* in so-called comparisons met with in those works.

Celestina: 40 24 "donde *no* [if not], *mas* vale que pene el amo, que *no* que peligre el moço [himself, Sempronio]" (where the advisability of his being made to suffer is rejected); 3 18 "*mas* vale que muera aquel a quien es enojada la vida, que *no* yo que huelgo con ella"; 124 26 "*mas* agradable me seria me rasgases mis carnes, e sacasses mi coraçon, que *no* traer esas palabras aqui" (where the latter proposition is rejected as wholly intolerable); 110 4 "por cierto, que conozco yo en la calle donde ella biue quatro donzellas, en quien Dios *mas* repartio su gracia que *no* en Melibea"; 31 18 "e *no* me lo agradezcas, pues el loor e las gracias de la acion, *mas* al dante

que *no* al recipiente se deuen dar"; 169 26 "*mejor* sufriera persecuciones de tus engaños en la rezia e robusta edad, que *no* en la flaca postremeria" (a condition which, though it seems to contain a preference for one of two evils, really rejects the more odious); 60 7 "pues si acaso canta, de *mejor* gana se paran las aues a le oyr, que *no* aquel antico, de quien se dize, que mouia los arboles e piedras con su canto" (denying that the famous old singer could equal this modern musician: "the birds would stop rather to hear him than [and not] the famous one"); 90 3 "con las gallinas, hija? Así se hara la hazienda. Andar, passe: *otro* es el que ha de llorar las necessidades, que *no* tu" (a case in which *otro* is used in the first member in much the same manner as in English, easily translated: "some other must weep... not you," which plainly indicates the exclusion intended in the second); 119 21 "no se desdore aquella hoja de castidad que tengo assentada sobre este amoroso desseo, publicando ser *otro* mi dolor, que *no* el que me atormenta" (equivalent to "declaring my pain to be other [different] than [and not] that which tortures me"); 36 1 "puede *mas* contigo su voluntad que mi temor [fear of me]. Digo, señor, que yrian *mejor* empleadas tus franquezas en presentes e servicios a Melibea, que *no* dar dineros aquella que yo me conozco" (in the first of these comparisons, she tacitly admits that *su voluntad* and *mi temor* are both potent, with the advantage in favor of the former, that is, a genuine comparison; while the second is a pseudo comparison, where there is clearly a rejection of the wisdom of her offering gifts); 115 7 "por esto, madre, he quesido *mas* biuir en mi pequeña casa, esenta e señora, que *no* en sus ricos palacios sojuzgada e catiua" (neither is desirable, but of the two evils, the lesser is chosen, the second situation being imprudent); 44 10 "e assi miro *mas* inconuenientes con mi poca experiencia, que *no* tu como maestra vieja" (tantamount to a total rejection and denial of the expertness of the woman); 123 3 "señora, no tengas por nuevo ser *mas* fuerte de sufrir al herido la ardiente trementina e los asperos puntos que lastiman lo llagado e doblan la pasion, que *no* la primera lision que dio sobre sano" (through the vivid contrast, the second member is minimized, if not categorically rejected; and here, too, wide separation of the two

members may play a part in strengthening the feeling for the negative).

Lazarillo: 27 3 "y en pocos días y noches pusimos la pobre despensa de tal forma, que quien quisiera propiamente della hablar, *mas* coraças viejas de otro tiempo que *no* arcaz la llamara" (here the postponement of the common verb is a further agent calling for negative strengthening before the term excluded, where the formula *rather... and not* is especially applicable): 41 8 "mas tu hazes como hombre de bien en esso, que *mas* vale pedillo por Dios que *no* hurtallo" (where it is admitted that it is not best to beg, yet it is worse to steal—"better beg... and not steal").

Cartas: 100 B 41 "harto *mas* quiero que presuman de parecer simples, que es muy de santas, que *no* tan retóricas"; 147 A 4 "por cierto *mas* las querria yo ver peor que ella estuvo, que *no* desobedientes" (the latter being a situation untenable to the speaker); 149 B 23 "yo no le dejé [pedirle dinero], porque tengo tanto deseo de ver á V. S. sin deudas, que de *mejor* gana pasará porque nos falte, que *no* por ser alguna parte para acrecentar costas á V. S." (where plainly it is her desire to reject the second member as inadvisable); 32 A 19 "y que *mijor* me parece defiende nuestra Señora sus hijas, que *no* su señoría sus súditas" (denying the expediency of the second member); 29 A 31 "*mas* vale hacerse en algunos años, y que dure, que *no* que se haga cosa que tengan que reir" (avoiding the cacophony of two *que*'s and stressing the inexpediency of the alternative); 255 B 9 "paréceme, mi hija, que todo se pasa an presto, que *mas* habíamos de traer el pensamiento en cómo morir, que *no* en cómo vivir" (a typical pronouncement of the mediaeval aesthetic tenet, which does not admit of comparison); 337 A 4 "*mas* importa que los estudiantes estén acomodados, que *no* ellas tengan tan gran casa"; 202 A 18 "que no es pequeña merced [is, therefore, a great one] estando en esa Babilonia, adonde siempre oirán cosas *mas* para divertir el alma, que *no* para recogerla" (that is, and not calculated to quiet it); 21 B 3 "pues en fin, todo es de vuestra merced, y tan suyo [de su parte], y *mas* el monesterio, y los que están en él, que *no* los que... van con gana de acabar presto" (in which she denies flatly the adherence to him of those who wish to hasten the work; y *más* might

even be taken to mean *and especially* in the same manner as the preceding adverbs, *tanto* and *tan*, are used independently and not with the idea of finishing a comparison that is usually required with such words); 163 B 27 "aunque tengo por cierto, le ha movido *mas*, á la que me ha hecho, el servicio de nuestro Señor y su bendita Madre, que *no* otra amistad" (a true comparison if allowed, would have been indirectly odious to the fact of the good motive that she ascribes to the act; hence the construction *rather... than* [and not]); 337 A 17 "y vale *mas* que tomen una vasita como pobres, y entren con humildad.... que *no* quedar con muchas deudas" (in which the first member is an act counseled, the second, counseled against); 45 A 13 "que querria *mas* fundar quatro casas de las monjas (que, en comenzándose, queda en quince dias asentada nuestra manera de vivir, porque las que entran no hacen mas de lo que ven á las que están), que *no* tornar esas benditas, por santas que sean, á nuestra manera de proceder" (an instance in which the original idea of comparison, if any, is lost, interrupted through the intercalation of lengthy parenthesis, and the second member is categorically excluded); 55 A 26 "despues he visto tantos inconvenientes, que si no fuese por provecho de la orden, no me parece se sufre; sino que es *mejor* se mueran unas, que *no* dañar á todas" (plainly rejecting the worse of two evils); 165 A 19 "ofréceseme, que seria *mijor* remedio atajarlo por su parte, que *no* escribir yo" (advising as being the proper remedy the first member, and *not* the injudicious alternative); 21 A 28 "con acordarle á que está *mas* obligado siempre á favorecer á las hijas, que son huérfanas y menores, que *no* á los capallanes..." (which, in substance, denies that he is obliged to favor the chaplains, who can help themselves, but, instead, reminds him that he should favor the minors and orphans, who need aid).

3. *After other negatives*— It is well known that in the very old language double negation with *no* following some other negative was very common, namely, *ninguno*, *nadie*, *nada*, *nunca*, *jamás*, *apenas*, *antes* (which, through confusion, has some notion of negation), *ni* and *sin que*. If we take into consideration that most of these negatives are used chiefly as auxiliaries, to reinforce the main negative, and that the majority of them were originally

positive, we readily understand how *no* may be found following them. The following examples go to show that this so-called pleonastic negation survives sparingly in the *Quijote*. In a later chapter we shall see how double negation has become the rule in Spanish so far as the supplementary, or auxiliary negation is concerned.⁴⁹

A. *Ninguno*—Llorens says that *ninguno no* is the rule down to the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁰ Weigert points out that contrary to the rule for Old French and Old Provençal, pleonastic *no* in Cervantes must not follow immediately upon the preceding negative.⁵¹ quoting the two examples to be met with in the *Quijote*: I 463 16 “y como *ninguno* de nosotros *no* entendia el arábigo, era grande el deseo que teníamos de entender lo que el papel contenia”; I 259 5 “habeisme de prometer de que con *ninguna* pregunta *ni* otra cosa no interromperéis el hilo de mi triste historia” (where, to be sure, *ninguna* may be used as one of the correlative negatives for *ni*, a construction resembling the use of *ni* which I term the anticipatory *ni*, but which, even so, does not fail to occasion a pleonasm).

The *Celestina* offers us the following example: 26 23 “porque en breve tiempo con *ninguno no* pueden firmar amistad.”

Lazarillo furnishes this instance of the use: 37 25 “o si supiesse, moço, que pieça es esta! no hay marco de oro en el mundo por que la diesse; mas ansi, *ninguna* de cuantas Antonio hizo, *no* acertó á ponelle los azeros...”

The *Cartas* yield no example of this phenomenon. *Marcos* has no instance of it. The *Patrañuelo* has but two instances of it. It is in the older works that this pleonasm will be found most frequently. The following figures are approximately correct: *Corbacho*, 22; *Amadís*, 17; *Grail*, 25; *Lucanor* and *Cifar*, the rule. The increasing ratio of such pleonasm might well be taken to judge the comparative antiquity of given works.

B. “*Nadie*” and “*nada*”—Our text shows no instance of *no* after these negatives, for by this time, just as in case of *ninguno*,

⁴⁹Cf. ch. V.

⁵⁰Llorens, p. 86, §59.

⁵¹Weigert, p. 156, §1.

these originally-positive words had become strongly negative. In fact, we shall later see that they are rarely found in the absolute use even before Cervantes. It appears that *nada* as absolute is always followed by *no*⁵² and that *nadie*, even in the auxiliary use is very rare or is never found absolutely used.⁵³

The *Celestina* furnishes us but two examples: 170 19 "prometes mucho, *nada no* cumples"; 113 22 "que ya, mal pecado. caducado he, *nadie no* me quiere."

The *Cartas* have one example: 247 A 4 "ni de ningún fraile, ni de *nadie no* se fie" (where, by reason of the inversion, it may be considered that the *nadie* is the auxiliary negative of *ningún*).

In the *Corbacho*, I find three instances: 168 10 "pues *nada non* les va en ello"; 301 6 "que *nada non* te valdrá"; 100 23 "e da su poder a quien *nada dello non* sabe."

The *Amadís*, a very long work, furnishes but five: 16 B 55 "el cual en el brazo le fué todo cortado, que *nada de él no* le quedó" (and similarly: 93 A 38, 300 B 10, 301 B 9, 3 B 31).

In the *Grail*, I have noted no instance of *no* after these pronouns, nor even any absolute uses of them.

C. "*Nunca*" and "*jamás*".— Here again we find that pleonastic *no* occurs almost never in our text, as these adverbs have become strongly negative. With *nunca*, there is but one example, and with *jamás*, none: II 428 14 "que *nunca* otra tal [batalla] *no* habian visto ni oido decir" (noted by Marín).⁵⁴

From *Lazarillo* I have no example with *nunca* and but one with *jamás*, in further proof of the infrequency of the pleonasm by this time; 7 25 "*jamás* tan avariento ni mezquino hombre *no* ví" (in which case the positive notion still strongly present in *jamás*, together with the considerable separation of the two negatives, may have led to the repetition).⁵⁵

This pleonasm is very rare in the other works examined: from the *Corbacho*, 2; from *Amadís*, 1; from the *Grail*, 1; *Patrañuelo*, 2.

D. *Apenas*— Weigert points out that the modal adverb

⁵²Llorens, p. 106, §72.

⁵³*Ibid.*, §82.

⁵⁴Marín, VI 153 5.

⁵⁵Bello, §1135.

apenas is the only other adverb showing *no* after it in the *Quijote*.⁵⁶ We do not find any examples of pleonastic *no* after the conjunctions *antes que* or *hasta que*, uses that are to be found in other works.⁵⁷ *Hasta que no* must have been confused with *mientras no*, and it is frequently met with in these later days:⁵⁸ I 566 33 “¿y que *apénas* el caballero no ha acabado de oír la voz temerosa cuando... se arroja en mitad del bullente lago...?”; II 205 34 “y veís aquí donde salen á ejecutar la sentencia, aun bien *apénas no* habiendo sido puesta en ejecución la culpa.”

The *Cartas*, which contain no instance of the phenomenon with *apenas*, afford an example of a kindred use with *después que*: 321 B 16 “los trabajos y poca salud, que he tenido *después que no* he escrito á su Ecelencia... será ocasion que me tengan por descuidada.” *Amad.* has a single example: 206 B 10 “*apenas no* lo podían seguir.”

E. *Sin que*— This pleonasm is rare in the works of Cervantes.⁵⁹ Llorens shows that it is almost unknown in the older Spanish texts.⁶⁰ I find no instances in the other works examined except two from the *Patrañuelo*: 140 12; 179 7. The following examples are those to be found in the *Quijote*: I 95 10 “á fe que no se pase el día de mañana *sin que* dellos [libros de caballería] *no* se haga acto público”; II 425 35 “el cual [Sancho] no quiso subir á ver al duque *sin que* primero *no* hubiese acomodado al rucio en la caballeriza” (in which cases it is possible that this negative conjunction may have been confused with temporal *antes*, which often connotes negation).

F. *Ni*— In no few instances, we find pleonastic *no* after this conjunction, though, to be sure, not immediately following it.⁶¹

⁵⁶Weigert, p. 152 (d), quoting the two examples from the *Quijote*.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 153 (f); Llorens, p. 180, §128.

⁵⁸Cf. Weigert, p. 153 (f); Llorens, p. 181, §129. This pleonasm is heard at least among the Mexicans of today. An interesting example of the negative value felt in *hasta* is that from I. M. Altamirano, *La Navidad en las Montañas* (D. C. Heath, 1917, p. 25, l. 20): “*Hasta* entonces [not until then] pude examinar... la persona del cura”; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §447.

⁵⁹Weigert, p. 154 (g), quoting, along with others, the two examples from the *Quijote* and one from Calderón, coming after a positive assertion.

⁶⁰Llorens, p. 130.

⁶¹Weigert, p. 156 (i).

The separation is in most cases considerable. This fact may go to indicate that in former times *ni* was felt to be only partially negative, because of its frequent use as auxiliary after other negatives. Since modern Spanish requires that *no* be either before the verb or else be replaced by some word of less negative force, we can but conclude that it must now be considered redundant. For convenience, I designate this *ni* as that of anticipation or parenthesis, since a great number of the instances show *ni* in phrases of inverted order.⁶² The examples fall into two types: (1) that with ellipsis of initial *ni* (or else a purely parenthetical *ni* phrase is the case), and (2) that after a negative word. In most of the works examined, type 1 predominates. Examples I 174 32, 169 11, II 122 21, 449 4, 43 5 are cited by the commentators, to which I add the remainder:⁶³ II 43 5 "vos, hermano. idos á ser gobierno ó insulo, y entonáoos á vuestro gusto. que mi hija *ni* yo, por el siglo de mi madre, que *no* nos hemos de mudar un paso de nuestra aldea"; II 435 8 "*ases ni* siete*s no* veas"; II 117 10 "lo que juzgó de D. Quijote de la Mancha el de lo Verde fué, que semejante manera *ni* parecer de hombre *no* le habia visto jamas"; I 169 11 "levantó luego á Rocinante, el cual si tuviera lengua con que quejarse, á buen seguro que Sancho *ni* su amo *no* le fueran en zaga"; I 174 32 "y era tanta la ceguedad del pobre hidalgo, que el tacto *ni* el aliento *ni* otras cosas que traia en sí la buena doncella, *no* le desengañaban"; II 479 6 "oyendo lo cual todos quedaron atónitos, y mas viendo que en todo el aposento *ni* al derredor de la mesa *no* habia persona humana que responder pudiese" (where it is possible that the negative implication in *todo* may have led to the *ni*); II 449 4 "*no* comia D. Quijote de puro pesaroso, *ni* Sancho *no* osaba tocar á los manjares que delante tenia de puro comedido"; II 122 21 "y la razón es esta: el grande Homero *no* escribió en latin, porque era griego; *ni* Virgilio *no* escribió en griego, porque **era latino**"; I 315 13 "pues que la soledad destas sierras *no* ha sido parte para encubrirme, *ni* la soltura de mis descompuestos cabellos **no ha permitido** que sea mentirosa mi lengua..."; I 121 21 "y que

⁶²Clemencín, VIII 4 6.

⁶³For other examples, Cf. ch. VI, 1, B and J.

ni el interes *ni* el miedo, el rencor *ni* la aficion *no* les hagan torcer del camino de la verdad..."

The *Celestina* furnishes the following example: 148 33 "que en toda esta noche ella *ni* yo *no* auemos dormido sueño de pesar."

Lazarillo yields but three examples, all of type 1: 6 25 "yo oro *ni* plata *no* te lo puedo dar"; 57 21 "y que yo directe *ni* indirecte *no* soy parte en ellas"; 45 26 "gota de vino *ni* bocado de carne *no* he comido."

The *Cartas* afford some fifteen examples: 145 B 6 "las estampas que decia para doña Luisa *ni* la carta, *no* vinieron"; 234 B 46 "y crea que por sus pecados, *ni* los mios (que son harto mayores) *no* diria á todas la penitencia"; 143 B 13 "a la una *ni* la otra *no* apriete con perfecciones"; 35 A 5 "y así no se podrá despachar hasta mañana á mediodia, porque mis ojos, *ni* mi cabeza *no* están para ello"; 252 A 32 "de á donde estaré cuando estuviere para partirme de este lugar, *ni* de otras cosas, *no* digo aquí"; 126 A 67 "habia estado antes casi ocho dias, que muchas veces *ni* un buen pensamiento *no* habia remedio de tener, sino con una sequedad grandísima"; 136 A 19 "agradézcame ir esta de mi letra, que *ni* an para San Josef de Ávila *no* lo he hecho"; 198 B 20 "*ni* á el mesmo Rey *no* sé si ternian respeto"; 247 A 1 "vuestra Reverencia no trate de comprar ninguna [casa] ...*ni* de ningun fraile *ni* de nadie *no* se fie" (an instance which, through the inversion, presents three negatives before *no*); 333 B 13 "en lo que toca á la hermana de la madre Brianda de San Josef, *ni* para freila *ni* para monja *no* será" (repeated identically on p. 337 B 14); 132 A 19 "y mire, que si sintiere mal en los riñones, que *ni* eso, *ni* la diciplina *no* lo tome"; 16 A 18 "y así, *ni* la señora doña María, *ni* con nadie, *no* estará"; 24 B 27 "porque *ni* santidad, *ni* valor, *ni* tan sobrada descrición, *ni* talentos yo *no* los veo"; 38 B 13 "y tenemos censo de una hermana muy bueno que vale seiscientos y treinta: *ni* sobre ello, *ni* quien le tome, *ni* prestado, *no* hallamos nada"; 91 A 27 "y así *ni* lo uno *ni* lo otro *no* ha estado en manos de nosotros."

The phenomenon is very common in *Lucanor* and *Cifar*, but very rare in the *Conquista*, the *Patrañuelo*, and *Marcos*. The *Grail* has five examples, *Corbacho*, sixteen, and *Amadís*, twenty-nine.

We see, then, that by the beginning of the seventeenth century this *no* must have been considered incorrect, due doubtlessly to the more modern construction of placing after the verb all lengthy subjects and objects; while in the older works its presence must have been due to inverted order. In a note to I 174 32, Marín attributes the pleonasm to the different manner of construing practiced by the earlier authors.⁶⁴

⁶⁴Marín, I 455 15.

CHAPTER IV

ABSOLUTE NEGATIVES OTHER THAN NO

The commentators have little to say concerning the autonomous negatives other than *no*, since the chief syntactic problems offer themselves in the auxiliary use. I find little of importance to treat here, and, therefore, I shall indicate merely whether the particular uses discussed are common or infrequent, emphasizing always the rare or anomalous uses. Lenz would have as the only originally negative words in Spanish *no* and *nunca*,¹ but Llorens points out that from the earliest literary times we find as pure negatives *ninguno*, *nada*, *nadie*, and *jamás*.² Prof. Hayward Keniston shows that *nadie* is found at a much earlier date than that ascribed to it by Llorens.³ Besides the negatives just enumerated, I shall treat *sin*, *menos* (the privatives), and the type *en mi vida*, reserving for the following chapter, which treats of the auxiliary negatives, all instances occurring in expressions of implied negation, since in them there is no expressed absolute negative.

1. *Nunca*—*Nunca* is historically the original adverb for *never*, as *jamás* is distinctly a Romance formation, becoming more and more common as the period advanced, as is shown by Llorens.⁴ Wiggers says that the absolute use is the most frequent,⁵ and so I find it in our text. One rarely finds *jamás* employed in elliptical constructions, that is, independently for an entire negative sentence; while *nunca* is often so found. As I point out in the following paragraph, *nunca* occurs after an affirmative verb as the last of two or more adverbs in a series of alternatives, while I have no record of such a use with *jamás*. In other respects, it appears that

¹Cf. Lenz, §184.

²Cf. Llorens, p. 85, §57.

³Hayward Keniston, Review of "La Negación en Español Antiguo con Referencias a otros Idiomas. Por E. L. Llorens," Madrid, 1929, in *Modern Philology*, May, 1930, p. 501.

⁴Cf. Llorens, p. 65, *Jamás*.

⁵Cf. Wiggers, p. 175.

the two adverbs are synonymous, unless it be that *nunca* is found more often in independent clauses and rarely in dependent, while *jamás* tends to occur more frequently in dependent clauses. Since both words occur very frequently in the text, I deem it unnecessary to make a count of their relative frequency. I shall, then, indicate only those uses that appear somewhat rare or otherwise interesting. In the other works examined, examples of *nunca* far outnumber those of *jamás*, the latter appearing very rarely indeed as absolute negative, and in *Lucanor*, *Marcos*, *Patrañuelo*, and *Grail* it rarely occurs even as auxiliary.

A. *As alternative*— It is noteworthy that in both of the examples of this use *nunca* is found after one or more adverbs which are themselves partially negative or, at least, restrictive in nature: I 444 2 “porque está atenido [el soldado] á la miseria de su paga, que viene ó tarde ó *nunca*”; II 54 11 “que no quiero estar á mercedes, que llegan tarde ó mal ó *nunca*.”

The *Cartas* show this instance: 73 A 7 “el dicho solíala ver muchas veces, y despues que esto comenzó era casi *nunca*.”

B. *Separated from its verb*— Frequently we find this adverb separated from its verb by matter, other than pronouns, in which it is noteworthy that here the use seems to assume through the inversion the style of the proverb or aphorism. The separation is generally effected through the subject or the object. At times *nunca* has something more than the temporal notion and assumes the function of a strong *no*. This will be seen in the last four examples in the following paragraph: II 87 26 “*nunca* los cetros y coronas de los emperadores farsantes fuéron de oro puro”; I 322 3 “porque *nunca* los tan desiguales casamientos se gozan ni duran mucho”; I 146 4 “*nunca* en aquel instante de acometella se acuerdan de encomendarse á Dios”; I 225 1 “*nunca* yo acostumbro... despojar á los que venzo” (where the clash between *acostumbrar* and the temporal *nunca* is relieved if we construe the adverb as being merely one of emphatic negation, comparable to the English “I never did”); II 159 7 “bien sé que *nunca* de ollas de Basilio sacaré yo tan elegante espuma”; I 483 32 “á lo cual respondió Dorotea: La que es cristiana yo soy; pero no la que te ha puesto en este punto, porque *nunca* mi deseo se extendió á dejarte ni á hacerte

mal" (which, like the following, borders closely on the durative use); I 389 9 "en los tres dias primeros *nunca* Lotario le dijo nada."

In most of the other works, this separation occurs fairly often, although it is rare in the *Corbacho* and *Marcos*. I judge further documentation superfluous.

C. *Durative*— In addition to the temporal sense, *nunca* at times connotes strong negation in which the temporal nature is limited to particular time.⁶ Often this use is found with *poder*, where it seems to imply a sort of concession or some such idea as *not at all, by no means, try as might, still not*, that is, a *nunca* qualifying a single transaction or limited succession of attempted or hoped-for acts. To the examples quoted by the commentators, I add: I 195 34 "asíó con la otra las riendas de Rocinante, que *nunca* se habia movido de junto á su amo"; I 482 22 "mas el dar me libertad no me tengáis por tan simple que lo imagine, que *nunca* os pusistes vosotros al peligro de quitármela para volverla tan liberalmente"; I 366 20 "llevándose tras sí al caballero, que *nunca* la quiso soltar"; II 240 21 "pidiéronle que se dejase desnudar para ponerle una camisa; pero *nunca* lo consintió, diciendo"; II 109 10 "en esta buena sazon y coyuntura halló D. Quijote á su contrario, embarazado con su caballo y ocupado con su lanza, que *nunca* ó no acertó ó no tuvo lugar de ponerla en ristra"; II 261 11 "que pues el buen Sancho *nunca* [within definite limits] vió á Dulcinea... ni la llevó la carta."

In the *Cartas* and the *Amadís*, examples are fairly frequent, while in *Celestina* and *Marcos* there occur no well-defined instances. It is rare in *Lazarillo*, *Corbacho*, *Lucanor*, *Cifar*, *Patrañuelo*, and *Grail*.

D. *As special negative*— *Nunca* is construable with other terms by way of special negation of those terms in the same manner as *no*, the most frequent use being with past participles.⁷ In this use it is equivalent to the English prefix *un-* or *in-*, and when used with *visto* it may be translated *unparalleled, unequalled, unheard-of, incomparable, never before-seen*. It is rare in *Lazarillo*

⁶Cf. Cejador, I, p. 371; Llorens, p. 62, §35; Marín, VII, *nunca*.

⁷Cf. ch. II.

and *Corbacho*, and it is almost, if not totally, lacking in the other works examined.

With "visto": I 84 5 "hechas pues de galope y aprissa las hasta allí *nunca vistas* ceremonias"; I 438 5 "llevadas del nuevo y para ellas *nunca visto* traje"; I 108 22 "por modos tan *nunca vistos* ni pensados"; II 429 10 "que esperaba ver el riguroso trance *nunca visto*" (and so, frequently).

With other past participles: I 50 8 "y lleno de pensamientos varios y *nunca imaginados* de otro alguno"; II 506 20 "para volver al *nunca* de mí olvidado ejercicio de las armas"; I 570 26 "el grande y *nunca bien alabado* Amadís"; I 144 16 "y el *nunca como se debe alabado* Tirante el Blanco."

With other adjectives: I 191 7 "es el *nunca medroso* Brandabarbaran"; II 61 32 "siempre natural y *nunca artificiosa*" (where, to be sure, *es* is understood).

With verbal noun—In all three cases here, the noun is *acabar*, and the phrase may be rendered *endless*: I 102 23 "y no se me pregunte el por qué, que sería *nunca acabar*" (and similarly: I 333 17, II 425 24).

With "más"—For emphasis, we find it as a special negation of *más*, and before the verb, equivalent to *never again*: I 253 36 "y desde entónces *nunca mas* le vimos" (and similarly: II 33 1. 147 18, 419 20).

2. *Jamás*—In connection with *nunca* we have noted the slight difference existing between the use of that adverb and *jamás*. In general, *jamás*, of late development, is much less frequent than *nunca*. For its development from *iam magis*, see Llorens.⁸ In all the works examined, it occurs much less frequently than *nunca*. With the exception of the alternative, it is found under practically the same circumstances as its synonym. As there is little of importance here, I shall make scant reference to other works.

A. *Separated from verb*—The separation here is effected usually by the subject and is probably somewhat less common than with *nunca*: II 116 31 "*jamás* en semejantes ocasiones ha hecho

⁸Cf. Llorens, 3, *Jamás*.

vileza alguna"; I 559 27 "habia de hacer de las suyas, y irse donde *jamás* gentes le viesén" (and similarly: I 245 9, 139 21, 389 33, 543 22, 165 32, II 13 13, 140 12).

B. *Durative or emphatic*— This use with *jamás* is almost as frequent as with *nunca*, although Cejador and Marín cite fewer examples.⁹ The first four below are quoted by them; the remainder I add. The use of the gerund in examples four and five plainly precludes the temporal use of *jamás*: I 319 16 "y *jamás* quise responder á D. Fernando palabra que le pudiese mostrar" (where it is evident that the meaning is not "I never wished," but rather "I did not wish"); I 77 27 "y *jamás* quiso [levantarse D. Quijote] hasta que le hubo de decir"; I 323 6 "apretóme mas entre sus brazos, de los cuales *jamás* me habia dejado"; I 90 29 "y queriéndose levantar, *jamás* pudo"; II 256 27 "como viniendo poco há por el Toboso *jamás* pude hallar los palacios de Dulcinea"; I 75 24 "las cuales... *jamás* supieron ni pudieron desencajarle la gola"; I 335 31 "mas D. Quijote... *jamás* lo consintió, antes la hizo levantar"; II 244 17 "pero el labrador... *jamás* quiso [sentarse], hasta que el hidalgo le hizo sentar por fuerza."

The *Patrañuelo* shows only ten instances of the use of *jamás*, all of which are absolute, all but one showing *por* before it, and all of the emphatic or durative type: 236 10 "*jamás* por tormento quiso confesar"; 220 1 "en ser a palacio, *por jamás* quiso dar audiencia."

C. *After prepositions*— After *por*, it seems that *jamás* partakes strongly of the nature of *nada*, equivalent to *on no account* and closely resembling the durative use: II 505 5 "aquí finalmente cayó mi ventura para *jamás* levantarse"; II 302 33 "por *jamás* quisimos admitirla"; I 91 31 "que por *jamás* un punto dél desdiga."

D. *With past participle*— Again here *jamás* is less frequent than *nunca*, yet with little if any distinction in use.

(1) With "*visto*": I 589 9 "desta nueva y *jamás* vista historia"; I 302 4 "quedé admirado deste nuevo accidente hasta allí *jamás* en ella visto" (and so: I 90 6, 206 ch. title, 315 10, 460 30, II 130 36, 293 19).

⁹Cf. Cejador, I, p. 361; Marín, VII, *Jamás*.

(2) *With other past participles*: II 284 ch. title "donde se cuenta la extraña y *jamás* imaginada aventura de la dueña dolorida" (and also with *imaginado*, I 109 ch. title); I 191 32 "pero vuelve los ojos á esotra parte, y verás... al siempre vencedor y *jamás* vencido Timonel" (and again with *vencido*, I 453 33); II 23 33 "pues ando siempre vestido y *jamás* remendado."

(3) *With adverbial phrases*: II 199 28 "oh no *jamás* como se debe alabado caballero D. Quijote de la Mancha" (reinforcing the negation in *no*); I 70 10 "el *jamás*, como se debe, alabado caballero" (and again with *como se debe*, I 496 28); II 60 13 "adonde ó por donde viste aquella *jamás* bastantemente alabada gentileza y hermosura?"

3. *En mi vida*—From its original use as a reinforcing negative, and having thus acquired negative function, *en mi* (su, etc.) *vida*, along with similar restrictive expressions characterized by strong feeling, came to be employed as absolute, preverbal negative in the same manner as *nadie*, *nada*, and *jamás*.¹⁰ The negative notion was probably strengthened by the nasal *n*¹¹ of *en*, as well as the further restriction of time or space or that effected through such words as *todo* or *alguno*. The most common of such prepositive negatives are *en parte alguna*, *en el mundo*, *en... vida*, and *en todo*...¹⁰ Llorens records no instance of *en... vida* earlier than *Celestina*,¹⁰ which I quote below. The first three following are quoted by the commentators: I 332 24 "pero el que más se admiró fué Sancho Panza, por parecerle... que *en* todos los dias de su *vida* habia visto tan hermosa criatura"; I 504 30 "*en* mi *vida* he hablado palabra"; I 197 21 "porque *en* toda mi *vida* me han sacado diente ni muela de la boca"; II 104 26 "pues *en* mi *vida* me la [espada] puse"; II 266 28 "que *en* mi *vida* he bebido de malicia"; II 485 10 "á causa que *en* su *vida* las habia visto"; II 313 8 "que osaré jurar que *en* todos los dias de mi *vida* he subido cabalgadura de paso más llano."

The phenomenon is very rare in the other works: *Cel.* 143 21 "*en* mi *vida* me acuerdo hauer tan gran temor"; *Patr.* 201 23 "*en*

¹⁰Cf. Meyer-Lübke, III, §695; Bello, §1134; Hanssen, §641; Llorens, p. 64; Wiggers, p. 176.

¹¹Meyer-Lübke, III, §695; Jespersen, p. 6.

todos los días de mi *vida* podré pagar a Vuestra Alteza" (and again, 219 2); *Marcos* I 79 12 "que *en* mi *vida* le miré de más mala gana" (and again, II 221 18); *Laz.* 37 12 "porque las cañas y mis salidos huesos *en toda la noche* dexaron de rifar y encenderse" (where the limitation is similarly made through *en* and *todo*).

4. *Ninguno*— In ch. III, 3, A, it was stated that Llorens's investigations show the use of *ninguno no* as common up until the end of the fifteenth century.¹² *Ninguno* appears often in the absolute use, but it is needless to attempt to determine whether this use outnumbers the auxiliary. I find no necessity to discuss this indefinite adjective and pronoun, other than to say that its use corresponds by and large to the modern practice; but I shall note a few interesting instances to be encountered. Except for the general practice in the older works, where pleonastic *no* is common, all the works follow the practice in the *Quijote*.

A. *As adjective*: I 442 2 "que á un fin tan sin fin como este, *ninguno* otro se le puede igualar" (without the apocope); I 160 19 "ella ha mostrado... la poca ó *ninguna* culpa que ha tenido" (where it appears that the article is also construable with *ninguna*, although the latter is used rather as alternative to the phrase with *poca*, which is regularly construable with the article. However, the article is found with it:¹³ cf. "y, sin embargo, *la ninguna* voluntad que mostráis a mi esposo";¹⁴ I 497 27 "el oidor, que *ninguna vez* habia sido tan oidor como entónces" (as substitute for *nunca*, *ninguna vez* is occasionally found, similar to *ninguna parte*, which has persisted without a substitute); I 252 31 "él respondió á gritos, que quién les habia traído por aquel lugar pocas ó *ningunas* veces pisado" (showing the plural,¹⁵ as does the following); I 327 22 "pero el justo cielo, que pocas ó *ningunas* veces deja de mirar."

(1) *Ninguna cosa*— *Ninguna cosa* is found with meaning *nada*, though perhaps with greater emphasis, comparable to English *no thing*, *not a thing*. In the older works examined, it

¹²Cf. Llorens, p. 86.

¹³Cf. Hanssen, §563.

¹⁴Tamayo y Baus, *op. cit.*, II, 321.

¹⁵Cf. for plural of *ninguno*, B, (2) and (3) and ch. V, 4, C.

occurs with much greater frequency than *nada*: I 321 6 "los cielos, á quien *ninguna cosa* se asconde" (and similarly: I 460 29, 399 18, 369 29, II 227 26, 14 11, 79 35, 60 2); I 531 21 "pero en *ningunas cosas* se muestra [más] esta verdad que en las de la guerra" (where *más*, as in the variant, is the logical, if not the intended, reading. Note the plural adjective here).

(2) *Ninguna persona*— Occasionally, *ninguna persona* is found as substitute for *nadie*: I 160 17 "*ninguna persona*, de cualquier estado y condición que sea, se atreva á seguir" (a case in which *nadie* would scarcely be possible because of the lack of emphasis when isolated from the verb); I 478 6 "y por toda aquella campaña *ninguna persona* parecia."

B. *As pronoun*— The text abounds in instances of the pronominal use of *ninguno*. When referring to persons, it may be equivalent to *none*, *no one*, *not a one*, of a specified number or of a group understood, or else to *nobody*, with added emphasis. This practice is common to all the works examined, though *nadie* for *nobody* becomes more frequent as the modern epoch approaches. Especially is *ninguno* employed for *nadie* in introducing a command.

(1) *Of specified group*— Examples of this use are numerous: I 455 33 "*ninguno* cautivaron sano de trescientos que quedaron"; II 156 11 "tan mozas que al parecer *ninguna* bajaba de catorce ni llegaba á diez y ocho"; I 478 20 "y dijo en morisco: *Ninguno* de vosotros se mueva de aquí, si no quiere que le cueste la vida"; I 486 36 "dijo nuestro renegado: *Ninguno* responda, porque... estos son corsarios"; II 24 6 "pocos ó *ninguno* de los famosos varones... dejó de ser calumniado" (in which the alternative in the singular neutralizes the plurality of *pocos*, as witnessed in the singular verb).

(2) *As equivalent of "nadie"*— My investigations have shown that this substitution is very common. From the numerous instances of the use of this unlimited indefinite pronoun, I quote the following: I 159 19 "porque quien á nadie quiere, á *ninguno* debe dar celos"; I 530 23 "que *ninguno* en aquella sazón la mirara al rostro, que no conociera" (where, as in the following example, *nadie* with restrictive relative clause would not have been so char-

acteristic of Cervantes); I 404 1 "con otras cosas... que *ninguno* la escuchara que no la tuviera..."

I have no record from the *Quijote* of *ningunos* for *nadie*. The plural here seems to be very rare: *Grail* 3 6 "non avya entonce *ningunos* que en el creyesen fuera sus discipulos";¹⁶ *Cifar* 178 23 "que *ningunos* de la su hedat non lo podrian ser mejor."

(3) *Ningunos*— I deem it unnecessary to give examples of the regular use of *ninguno* referring to things; but the following instance is of interest because of the plural: I 66 4 "y de todos *ningunos* les parecian tan bien como los que compuso..."

5. *Nadie*— There is little noteworthy regarding the use of absolute *nadie*, since it is found frequently in both independent and dependent clauses as in modern Spanish. Llorens shows that it is rare in the earlier literature and never found there as absolute negative.¹⁷ However, Prof. Keniston points out that *nadie* occurs as early as 1253 in *Libro de los Engannos*,¹⁸ though, to be sure, not as absolute. I have no record of the absolute use in *Corbacho*, *Amadís*, *Grail*, *Cifar*, and *Marcos*, and little or none in any but the *Quijote* and the *Patrañuelo*: II 322 4 "que con esto satisfarás al cielo, que gusta que *nadie* se desprecie de lo que él hizo" (where one would have expected *no* before the main verb, with the resulting auxiliary negation); I 262 9 "y era tan hermosa... que *nadie* que la conocia, se determinaba en cuál de estas cosas tuviese mas excelencia" (where, as in the following, *nadie* serves as the antecedent of a clause, an infrequent occurrence in the text); I 148 34 "*nadie* las [armas] mueva— Que estar no pueda con Roldan á prueba" (where also it introduces a direct command).

I have record of but one example of absolute *nadie* in the *Cartas*: 137 A 10 "crea, mi padre, que á *naide* parece bien."

6. *Nada*— *Nada* occurs very infrequently in its absolute use. In the older language we find that when so used the custom is to follow it with *no*.¹⁹ As *nada* refers to things, it is found almost always in the accusative case; hence the infrequent preverbal use.

¹⁶Cf. Pietsch, *Grail*, II, pp. 4-5.

¹⁷Cf. Llorens, §82.

¹⁸Cf. Hayward Keniston, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

¹⁹Cf. Llorens, p. 104.

Its place has been generally taken by *cosa* or *ninguna cosa*, and the latter, due to the fact that it lends itself more readily to emphatic use, is often found preverbally. Of course, *nada* and the emphatic *nonada* are found used as independent pronominal words standing for complete sentences in denials and also as nouns.²⁰ As the *Quijote* offers little of interest in this rare use of *nada*, I shall transcribe no examples of it, but shall proceed to a few interesting instances offered by the other works.

Somewhat rarely there occurs a *nada* after an affirmative verb and without even a remote negative notion. Hanssen says that it may be used predicatively, along with the auxiliary use.²¹ I should say that when *nada* appears after verbs, whether *ser* or not, without the adverbial negative, it must be due to its being considered as a noun meaning *a trifle*, or else to prosiopesis of the original *no* or *todo*.²² The following examples illustrate this substantival and predicative use: *Cifar* 461 22 "faziendo cubdiçiar vanidad e *nada*"; 117 12 "ca le semejo quel tenia en *nada* todo lo quel dezia"; 455 13 "ca cuyde dezir algo e dixe *nada*"; 299 8 "e deuedes saber que el su poder es *nada* al poder de Dios"; *Cartas* 10 B 23 "haga yo de mi parte lo que es *nada*, que es tomar trabajo alguno; 21 B 28 "miren que va en esto *nada*" (probably used as substitute for the weak negative *poco*); *Cel.* 150 1 "por complir el refrán de los niños, que dizen: de lo poco poco, de lo mucho *nada*."

7. *Sin*— Although there is here nothing particularly novel in the use of *sin*, it will be well to indicate the uses to be met with.

A. *As special negative*— At times *sin* specially serves to limit a noun or adverb, often equivalent to the English privative *un-* or *-less*:²³ I 89 18 "la *sin par* Dulcinea" (frequent in the text); I 66 10 "la razón de la *sinrazón*"; I 88 24 "aquel despiadado enemigo, que tan *sin* ocasion vapulada"; II 4 6 "estoy muy *sin* *dineros*"; I 112 15 "cuando los caballeros pasaban *sin* *dormir* muchas noches en las florestas" (where *muchas noches* is not the object of *dormir* but of *pasar*); I 221 33 "verás cuán *sin* *hablar palabra*... concluyo

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 105, §71.

²¹Cf. Hanssen, §644.

²²Cf. Jespersen, p. 6, *Prosiopesis*.

²³Cf. Wiggers, p. 184; Llorens, p. 127, §91.

esta ventura"; I 222 29 "el barbero, que tan *sin pensarlo* ni temerlo vió venir aquella fantasma"; II 43 16 "¡y válate Dios la mujer, y qué de cosas has ensartado unas en otras *sin tener* piés ni cabeza!"

The other works reveal little of this practice: *Luc.* 215 14 "e quando el hermano aquello vio et se acordo quanto *sin miedo* et *sin duelo* desconjuntara la cabeza"; *Amad.* 343 B 28 "entonces preguntó al Enano qué tales habian quedado aquellos desdichados é *sin ventura* romanos" (comparable to the colloquial Mexican *sin vergüenza*, save that here the use is prepositive); *Cartas* 64 A 2 "y cuán *sin acuerdo* está de todo"; 167 B 22 "y lástima de verme aquí, *sin hacer* más de comer y dormir."

B. *Limiting the infinitive*— I judge it not amiss to call attention to *sin*, equivalent to English *not*, as a special negation of an infinitive. It must be translated *not* plus the gerund, rarely as *without*,²⁴ for the true sense is that of *y no* plus finite verb. Suffice a few examples from the text: II 86 3 "saltó la muerte de la carreta, y tras ella el emperador, el diablo carretero y el ángel, *sin quedarse* la reina ni el dios Cupido"; II 226 15 "has de saber, Sancho, que este barco que aquí está, derechamente, y *sin poder* ser otra cosa en contrario, me está llamando" (that is, "not being able," "unable," "it being impossible"); II 7 24 "llegábase donde estaba el perro, y mirándole muy bien de hito en hito, y *sin querer*, ni *atreverse* á descargar la piedra, decía"; I 114 33 "y dieron con él en el suelo y *sin dejarle* pelo en las barbas, le molieron á coces, y le dejaron tendido en el suelo" (in which the phrase with *sin* is out of order, as it indicates the resulting state of the beating).

C. *Separated from its infinitive*— Not infrequent in most of the works examined is the construction in which some term (most often the subject) intervenes between *sin* and the infinitive. Although this is a matter of word-order rather than of negation, yet it is noteworthy because of the separation: I 322 29 "*sin yo pensarlo*"; I 298 32 "*sin yo merecerlo*" (and similarly by *yo*: I 158

²⁴Cf. *Dic. Acad.*, *sin*, (3): "vale lo mismo que *no* con su participio o gerundio"; Peña, §861, 4.

5, II 333 12, 554 36); I 478 24 "quedáronse espantados. y *sin ninguno* de todos ellos *echar mano* á las armas"; I 97 8 "mas el cura no vino en ello *sin* primero *leer* siquiera los títulos."

The *Cartas* furnish this instance: 294 B 14 "bendito sea Dios que tanta merced me hace, en que *sin* yo *entenderlo*, se haya avisado la verdad."

D. *As equivalent of "además"*— Interesting are the examples with *sin* meaning *además*, *fuera de*, etc., an acceptation that is regarded as correct even today.²⁵ Although I have noted no instance from the *Quijote*, it is entirely possible that examples occur there. The practice is by no means general in the texts examined: *Cel.* 87 23 "hijo, digo, que *sin* aquella [vez] prendieron quatro vezes a tu madre"; *Cartas* 236 A 19 "*sin* estas [cartas], he escrito a V. R. otras dos veces"; *Cifar* 126 13 "e syn esto que era de buen entendimiento"; *Patr.* 99 13 "y *sin* eso le dió algunas joyas"; 140 10. "y que *sin* eso les mandaba... que ninguno fuese osado"; 151 20 "y *sin* eso, que le diese doblado precio."

8. *Menos*— It may be well to make a few remarks concerning the somewhat rare use which is made of *menos*. In the first example the use is adverbial; in the second it is a pronominal adjective; in the remaining two, the adjective is privative in nature, almost equivalent to the English suffix *-less* or to the adjective *minus*, *missing*: I 320 12 "pero no de suerte que me moviesen á compasion *ménos* que buena sus lágrimas y sus suspiros" (a kind of attenuation); I 444 28 "pero decidme, señores, si habeis mirado en ello, ¿cuán *ménos* son los premiados por la guerra, que los que han perecido en ella"; II 211 9 "y luego maese Pedro alzó del suelo con la cabeza *ménos* al rey"; II 211 23 "por esta figura, dijo maese Pedro, que está sin narices y un ojo *ménos*... quiero... dos reales y doce maravedís."

²⁵Cf. *Dic. Acad.*, *sin*, 2; Llorens, §92; Peña, §861; Garcés, I, p. 299.

CHAPTER V

AUXILIARY NEGATION—STRENGTHENING

Double negation is characteristic of many languages and especially of the Romance,¹ a usage occasioned by the desire to strengthen what is felt to be a weakly negative enunciation. This negative reinforcement occurs after pure negatives, such as those treated in previous chapters, as well as after certain terms that connote negation.² Since the use of reinforcing negatives has always been and still is the practice in Spanish, it will be necessary to treat but cursorily of its use after pure negatives; and, therefore, I shall limit the discussion to those terms that are weakly, indirectly, approximately, or impliedly negative, such as those already treated in ch. I. Weigert treats such instances incidentally. I have thought it more logical to treat them under distinct categories. I shall point out the general tendencies and give more space to those cases which seem to present irregularities or constitute rare phenomena.

1. *Nunca*—As is set out in ch. IV, *nunca* finds its chief use as absolute negative. It seems that *jamás* is more commonly used in its stead in postverbal position. The infrequency of auxiliary *nunca*, especially after *no*, characterizes all the works compared. But it is occasionally met with after expressions or words that are indirectly, or impliedly negative, such as comparisons (as in modern Spanish), conditions, and privatives. The following examples are noteworthy because of the position of *nunca* after negatives other than *no*, especially when following those negatives immediately: II 476 25 “que hasta los muchachos desta ciudad *sin nunca* haberme visto me conocen”; *Cartas* 344 B 16 “que no tenemos por monja á doña Catalina de Otalora, *ni nunca*

¹Cf. ch. III, first paragraph; Diez, pp. 1073 2, 1077 5, 1078 6; Meyer-Lübke. §§692-696.

²Cf. ch. I.

lo fué"; 277 A 26 "en nuestras cosas no hay que dar parte á los frailes, *ni nunca* las dió el padre"; *Corb.* 61 14 "dos cosas son de notar: *nin nunca* fembra farta de byenes *nin* beodo farto de vino"; *Amad.* 126 B 2 "que por *ninguno* dellos *nunca* fué conocido" (an instance of auxiliary durative *nunca*); 210 B 53 "si no, ellos *ni* nosotros *nunca* saldrémos de aquí" (unless the phrase with *ni* be parenthetical in nature); 51 B 46 "que á vos *ni* á otro *ninguno nunca* don pediré."

A. *In comparisons*— The use of *nunca* in the second member of a comparison constitutes the chief auxiliary use of this adverb in the *Quijote*, which is true also for the other works. As the practice is regular even today and seems to have been the rule from the earliest times,³ I shall confine my treatment to the few instances of it as found in our text: I 204 4 "que qué le habia movido á llamarle el Caballero de la Triste Figura mas entónces que *nunca*"; II 244 7 "que parece que ahora los veo mas que *nunca* (and so: I 215 13, II 454 21; *Amad.* 7 B 44, 20 B 44; *Luc.* 245 33).

It is doubtlessly due to the same negative notion inhering in comparisons that even today we find *nunca* after *como*, with the meaning of *siempre*. To be sure, the sense may be *more than ever* or *as never before*, but I feel that it is that of the former: *El Comendador Mendoza* 68 8 "sigue bien de salud—contestó Doña Clara;—pero, entregada como *nunca* á sus devociones, apenas se deja ver de nadie"; 142 15 "y más aún, si cabe, le atormentó y afligió el ver á Clara esquivá, tímida como *nunca*, apartándose de él..."⁴

B. *In questions*— In ch. I it is shown how interrogative sentences are employed as indirect negation. This practice extends to the auxiliary negatives as well. Where *nunca* occurs in questions there is implied doubt in the mind of the speaker.⁵ It is odd that Cervantes does not resort to this use with *nunca* similar to that with other supplementary negatives. Suffice it to set

³Cf. Diez, p. 1077, 5.

⁴Juan Valera, *El Comendador Mendoza*, ed. Rudolph Schevill, American Book Co., 1905.

⁵Cf. for other examples Diez, p. 1078, 6, and Llorens, p. 61, §34.

down three examples taken from other authors: *Corb.* 75 2 "dí, ¿furtaste *nunca* para dar a la tu coamante?"; 71 13 "e viste *nunca* madre consentir en muerte de fijo o fija?"; *Luc.* 205 17 "¿quien vio *nunca* que menguase sogá para enforçar omne?"

C. *In conditions*— We have seen in ch. I, 4, that negation inheres in conditions, especially those accompanied by a punitive wish or when doubt is involved. Although Cervantes does not make use of this indirect negation with *nunca*, yet it is found with other authors. Diez gives the following for Spanish: "*si nunca tornasses*."⁶ Llorens incorrectly classifies as *indeterminados* the following examples, which contain *nunca* because of the doubt concerning the predicate: "*sy tú nunca ovyste de caballero amor,— Mas debes amar a este que non a otro emperador*"; "*preguntol si fiziera numqua otro uaso tal cuemo aquel*"⁷ (an instance of indirect question implying doubt). If one takes into account the doubt or uncertainty that is very often connoted by conditions, one will readily understand *nunca* after *si*, while the term *indeterminado* can scarcely convey the notion of negation. I find the following examples from the other texts compared: *Amad.* 87 B 29 "*ya Dios no me ayude, dijo Arban, si nunca tregua comigo hobiérdes*" (which, like the next, is accompanied by a punitive wish as further insistence on the denial); 155 A 25 "*que Dios no me salve ni ayude si nunca mi corazon pensó nada de cuanto me habeis dicho*."

Meyer-Lübke, who treats also of the kinship of conditional clauses and negative clauses, quotes the following Spanish examples, in which, he says, *nunca* is used as an indefinite temporal adverb through analogy with the use of such Romance developments as *jamais*, etc: "*resucitaron todos cuantos nunca morieron*"; "*todollos cavaleiros que nunca trouxerom armas*." But here we must not forget the negative import of *todo* and, therefore, of *cuanto*, its synonym.⁸ In similar examples with *cuanto* or in an adverbial relative clause, Llorens declares that no notion of

⁶Diez, p. 1078, 6.

⁷Llorens, p. 62.

⁸Meyer-Lübke, §696.

negation is possible:⁹ "promete a los allugados *quanto nunca* que-rrán"; "señor, nos prestos somos por conplir tu mandado,— *do tu nunca* qujsieres yremos nos de grado"; "todo lo conquerien *quanto nunca* trobauan"; "ally pinto las estorias *quantas nunca* cuntieron"; "por onde *nunca* pasaua mandaua cridar— que pensasen las leys sus casas aguardar." In such adverbial clauses there inheres the notion, not merely of indefiniteness, but rather that of indifference, concession, and superlative degree, and in *cuanto* there is in addition the implication of preclusion, or exclusion, denial of any exception, together with the notion of comparison or superlative.¹⁰

D. *With special connotative negatives*— Interesting too, are the following examples with *nunca* after certain special terms of connotative negative force in which the English rendering is *ever*: *Amad.* 10 A 5 "é defiéndooos que *nunca* seais contra él"; 387 A 55 "é porque *pierdas* esperanza [no tengas esperanza] de la *nunca* haber... veisme cómo con ella me voy"; *Cifar* 482 9 "ca ya çerca eran de *perder* fuzia de lo *nunca* ver e de andar en pos la su demanda"; *El Comendador Mendoza* 101 31 "¿de qué se admira V. tan desaforadamente?—dijo el Comendador, *pensando* que el Padre *extrañaba* [no comprendia] que tan virtuosa y austera matrona hubiese *nunca* sucumbido á una mala tentación."¹¹

2. *Jamás*— In the *Quijote*, *jamás* is more frequent than *nunca* both after pure negatives and after words or expressions indirectly negative. For the history of its development, cf. Llorens.¹² It is but natural that it should occur more frequently as auxiliary, since it was through this use as partial negative that it has had its inception as absolute negative, while *nunca* is a primitive negative. From its postverbal position as a positive reinforcement to the negated verb, with some such meaning as *again*, *any more*, *at all*, *not ever*, it must have come to be felt as sufficiently negative to warrant its use as pure negative before the verb. I find it occurring frequently after *no*, *sin*, and *ni*, and at

⁹Llorens, p. 62.

¹⁰Cf. similar constructions in chs. I, 4; V 4 E; VI 3 B (2).

¹¹Juan Valera, *op. cit.*

¹²Llorens, p. 65, *Jamás*.

least once after *nunca*; and in comparisons it is used far more often than *nunca*. It may be but a coincidence that this *jamás* rarely refers to future time, but almost always to the past. When referring to the future, it may be equivalent to *again, any more*; when to the past, *so far, before, at all*. In the other works examined, however, *jamás* is infrequent.¹³

A. *With pure negatives*— In case of its use in a dependent clause, it precedes the verb, as seen in the three examples containing such a clause: I 582 34 “porque carrera tirada no se lee en toda esta verdadera historia que *jamás* la diese Rocinante”; I 220 8 “no creo yo... que *jamás* los tales escuderos estuvieron á salario”; I 577 23 “no deja esperanza de que *jamás* se cobre”; I 77 22 “no me levantaré *jamás* de donde estoy” (which, as does the following example, refers to the future); II 517 1 “que me hará hacer juramento de no tocarme *jamás* al pelo del sayo”; I 484 27 “pusimos nuestras centinelas en tierra, y no dejamos *jamás* los remos de la mano” (illustrating the durative aspect of this auxiliary); II 205 20 “quizá no visto *jamás*” (illustrative of special negation of a participle even with the auxiliary); I 179 14 “que ni soy caballero andante ni pienso ser *jamás*”; II 73 15 “ni yo ni mi amo la habemos visto *jamás*”; II 56 2 “que no la hallen en el laberinto de sus deseos, ni *jamás* se les cumpla lo que mal desearén”; I 530 11 “y el barbero le hizo una cédula del recibo, y de no llamarse á engaño por entónces ni por siempre *jamás* amen” (where the strengthening is rendered more emphatic by *siempre* and *amén*); I 149 13 “porque nunca tal nombre ni tal princesa habia llegado *jamás* á su noticia” (in which the auxiliary is after *nunca* as main negative and *ni* as secondary—a separation of *nunca jamás* which Marín says should not be made and which he thinks must have been due to an interlining of *jamás* in the original);¹⁴ I 242 8 “con la cual [escopeta] apuntando al uno y señalando al otro, sin dispararla *jamás*, no quedó guarda en todo el campo” (where again we find the durative sense of *jamás*); also with *sin* I 285 19, 578 27.

¹³Cf. ch. IV, 1 and 2.

¹⁴Cf. Marín, I 385 5; and for contrary evidence, cf. second paragraph below.

From the other works, the following examples will suffice, for, as we have indicated, the auxiliary use is rare: *Cel.* 122 3 "lo segundo es nueuamente nacido en mi cuerpo; que no pensé *jamás* que podía dolor priuar el seso"; *Laz.* 58 23 "este pulpito se hunda conmigo y meta siete estados debaxo de tierra, do el ni yo *jamás* parezcamos"; *Cartas* 129 B 15 "porque me ha mandado el dotor, que no escriba *jamás*, sino hasta las doce" (the following being the other instances of auxiliary *jamás* that I find: 149 A 18, 163 B 26, 165 B 25, 228 B 14, 268 B 15, 305 A 28, 326 A 4); *Corb.* 59 19 "e fará que no te conosçe nin *jamás* te aya visto" (and also after *ni* 321 15, 176 5); *Amad.* 9 B 42 "no teniendo esperanza de *jamás* lo cobrar" (where it is difficult to determine the degree of negation, as the auxiliary use is very infrequent and shows always this same relation to the main negative).

In the second paragraph above, I transcribe an instance of *nunca... jamás*, which Marín maintains is incorrect. In the following, we find it both together and separated, a fact that would lead one to doubt the propriety of his dictum: *Corb.* 27 7 "que remedio de byen vsar *nunca jamas* le ayuda como al ombre"; *Cifar* 467 26 "ca sy de manos vos salgo una vegada *nunca jamás* me podredes auer"; 476 25 "ca sy vna vegada vos saliese de mano *nunca jamás* me abriedes" (in which two it is entirely possible that *jamás* shows an original meaning of *again*, *ya más*, since *más* has temporal sense); *Amad.* 237 B 28 "pues á mi parecer... que dije tanto cual *nunca* por mi boca salió *jamás*"; *Grail* 14 4 "e *nunca* y tornes *jamás*"; 21 30 "rresucito ende que *jamás* los guardadores quel guardavan *nunca* ende sopieron nada" (where the reverse order and separation obtain).

B. *With implied negation*— *Jamás* in the second member of a superlative sentence is the only instance of the implied use found in the text, and here it is difficult to determine whether *jamás* is equivalent to *ever* or *never*. The fact that *ni* follows it at times may go to indicate the negative notion in it. I have record of seventeen examples of its use after the superlative. We recall that *nunca* is not nearly so frequent here. In but two does the adverb follow the verb, and when so placed, it seems to lend greater emphasis as a negative reinforcement than it has when preverbal,

where it contains rather the idea of hitherto, so far: II 439 8 "y el mayor defensor suyo que tendrá *jamás*"; II 546 20 "que fué la mas nueva transformacion y adorno con que se vió *jamás* jumento en el mundo"; I 204 8 "y verdaderamente tiene vuestra merced la mas mala figura de poco acá que *jamás* he visto" (and so: I 67 33, 81 3, 282 14, 316 29, 409 16, 436 21, 459 24, 469 2, 580 31; II 37 6, 84 16, 130 14, 257 14, 295 1).

In the other texts examined, I find even fewer instances of *jamás* in implied negation, and here again it is difficult to judge whether it is not the positive term that is intended. We find also a few examples of its use in questions and after connotative words: *Laz.* 55 1 "en el quinto [amo] por mi ventura di, que fue vn buldero, el mas desembuelto y desuergonçado, el mayor echador dellas que *jamás* yo vi ni ver espero, ni pienso nadie vio"; *Corb.* 75 8 "si tú dices que non, ¿furtaste *jamás* joyas, dineros e otras cosas por le leuar e que fueses della bien resçebido?" (and, too, 83 18, 69 4); 185 28 "*maldita* la que *jamás* en ombre se fia"; 101 1 "*maldito* sea, e entiendame quien quisyere sy pudyere, quien en poderio de otro su postremera voluntad *jamás* dexare nin tal poderio loco diere."

3. *En mi vida*— In ch. IV, 3, we see that through the supplementary use of such phrases as *en mi vida*, originally-positive terms that serve to restrict time or place, especially when introduced by the limiting preposition *en*, finally acquired autonomous negative force, which warranted their use in absolute, preverbal position. As *todo* is the commonest adjective denoting great restriction of time or space, it is very frequently found with these terms. It will be necessary to transcribe but few examples of this auxiliary use, as it is the absolute that is of chief interest. In the second example we find *eternamente* similarly used as a term of wide inclusion, and in the third, the use of *en... vida* as auxiliary reinforcement in a sentence of implied negation: II 527 15 "pues ni yo la enamoré, ni la desdeñé *en mi vida*"; I 502 13 "que si él no quiere dejalle, no le será quitado *eternamente*"; *Laz.* 42 10 "digote, Lazaro, que tienes en comer la mejor gracia que *en mi vida* vi a hombre."

4. *Ninguno*— As auxiliary negative, *ninguno* differs little from the modern use, and I shall be able to point out only the main tendencies as to position, etc., with but few examples of each use. After indicating these broader uses, it will be of interest to quote, though sparingly, instances of certain special uses, such as those of implied negation. Except in this last-mentioned category, little reference need be made to the other works examined, since, in the main, they present analogous practices. For example, we find in all the works the tendency to use *ninguna cosa* for *nada*, *ninguno* for *nadie*, etc.

A. As adjective— In the vast majority of cases, the adjective precedes its noun, even in a clause dependent upon a negative verb; but in a few instances it is postpositive, where *alguno* is found more often.

(1) *Prepositive*: I 267 6 “pero yo sé que él no tiene *ninguna* culpa de lo sucedido” (illustrating the quantitative value of *ninguno*);¹⁵ I 209 22 “falta lo que faltare... que no se ha de decir por mí ahora ni en *ningun* tiempo...” (with *ningún tiempo* for *nunca*, just as in English we say: “now or at any time.” and not “now nor ever”); I 143 32 “no se probará que desde aquel tiempo á este haya *ningun* inglés muerto cuervo alguno”; I 183 24 “yo no tengo necesidad de que vuestra merced me vengue *ningún* agravio”; I 522 15 “que no me atreva á decir afirmativamente *ninguna cosa* de lo que... se preguntare” (and also with *ninguna cosa* for *nada*: I 56 24, 157 8, 386 14, 567 7, etc.); I 556 17 “eso no lo creas en *ninguna manera*” (where the phrase *ninguna manera*, just as with *ningún modo*, is not used to express manner, but rather degree, like English *by no means*, expressions which have lost the sense of *manner* and assumed that of *at all*);¹⁶ II 308 30 “eso no haré yo, dijo Sancho, ni de malo ni de buen talante, en *ninguna manera*”; I 146 10 “señor, respondió D. Quijote, eso no puede ser ménos en *ninguna manera*” (and thus often); I 516 27 “y que no se deje vencer en *ningun modo*”; I 479 20 “no... a mi padre no se ha de tocar en *ningun modo*” (and thus occasionally).

¹⁵Cf. *Amad.* 5 A 30: “sin que en ella ningún agua entrase.”

¹⁶Cf. Jespersen, p. 18, fourth paragraph.

(2) *Postpositive*— When this adjective is used postsubstantially it is more emphatic and resembles closely English *at all, any kind*, or the like: I 191 10 “respondió... que no hiciese mandamiento de su casa en *modo ninguno*”; II 177 17 “no traía arma *ninguna*, sino un rosario”; II 509 19 “calle, señor bueno... que no hubo encanto alguno, ni mudanza de rostro *ninguna*” (and similarly: I 438 26, II 376 3); I 557 16 “sin añadir ni quitar cosa *ninguna*” (and similarly with *otra cosa*: I 438 28, II 148 14).

Interesting are the following: *Cifar* 207 5 “ca el fijo *ninguno* non ha” (where inversion of object before the negative verb may affect); *Cel.* 31 1 “arrebataado quebrantamiento le verna le sanidad *ninguna* le consiguiera.”

B. *As pronoun*— There is little necessity to treat here the pronominal use with things. In all instances except the first two, the pronoun refers to persons, whether meaning *nobody, none*, or *neither*: I 197 24 “no tiene vuestra merced mas de dos muelas y media; y en la de arriba ni media ni *ninguna*” (“neither a half nor any at all”); I 367 23 “creyendo, como es verdad, que no ha de haber alguno tan ignorante que tenga por historia verdadera *ninguna* destes libros” (where it alternates with its synonym *alguno*); I 79 12 “porque él nunca había leído en las historias de los caballeros andantes que *ninguno* los hubiese traído”; I 443 32 “y veremos que no hay *ninguno* [nobody] mas pobre en la misma pobreza”; I 192 32 “y de cuando en cuando volvía la cabeza á ver si veía los caballeros y gigantes... y como no descubría á *ninguno* [none], le dijo” (and thus very often); II 96 17 “ni ella es puta, ni lo fué su madre, ni lo será *ninguna* [neither] de las dos, Dios queriendo.”

C. *Ningunos*— Here again¹⁷ we find a few instances of the plural, both as adjective and as pronoun. The second example from *Lucanor* exemplifies the pronominal use with persons: I 114 12 “y no sabemos si en este coche vienen ó no *ningunas* forzadas princesas”; II 444 23 “á cuyas gracias no hay *ningunas* que se le igualen”; I 495 9 “y sin hallar *ningunas* [palabras] con que respondelle”; I 478 25 “y sin *ninguno* de todos ellos echar mano á las

¹⁷Cf. ch. IV, 4, A and B.

armas, que pocas ó casi *ningunas* tenian, se dejaron sin hablar alguna palabra maniatar" (in which, in addition to the plural induced by *pocas*, is the presubstantival *alguno*, where *ninguno* might have been used).

I find the following from the other works: *Cartas* 61 B 17 "ha mandado el nuncio no las confiesen otros *ningunos*"; *Amad.* 41 B 54 "é que hasta allí no supiera dél *ningunas* nuevas";¹⁸ *Cifar* 72 11 "e syn armas *ningunas*"; 99 6 "syn ancoras *ningunas*"; 100 4 "non teniendo ancoras *ningunas*"; 182 6 "porque non auian fijos *ningunos*"; 311 28 "non quiso Dios que troxiese armas *ningunas*"; *Luc.* 30 10 "mas fremosas que otros ojos *ningunos*"; 219 6 "e que por amor de Dios que guardase que non sopiesen *ningunos* [nadie] que avia ydo a sus casas"; *Marcos* I 256 14 "que siempre había tenido *pocos* [bienes] o *ningunos*."

D. *With implied negation*— *Ninguno* occurs also in sentences indirectly or partially negative, such as in comparisons (the rule in modern Spanish), in questions, and after words connoting negation.

(1) *In comparisons*— As the rule since the earliest times has been to use *ninguno* in the second member of a comparison, it is of little importance to transcribe more than a very few examples, and these from the *Quijote* alone: II 399 4 "admirándose todos aquellos que la conocian, y *mas* los Duques que *ninguno*"; II 315 34 "diciéndole ser el *mas* buen caballero que en *ningun* siglo se hubiese visto"; I 365 18 "que *antes* dejaré quemar un hijo que dejar quemar *ninguno* desotros" (with the comparative *antes* definitely indicating preference).

(2) *In questions*— The practice with *ninguno* is relatively rare: I 552 15 "y si es que la imitacion es lo principal que ha de tener la comedia, ¿cómo es posible que satisfaga á *ningun* mediano entendimiento...?"; I 532 32 "¿qué mal puede haber en *ninguna* aldea ni en todas las ciudades del mundo, que pueda sonarse en menoscabo mio, villano?"; II 224 8 "¿donde has visto tú ó leido que *ningun* escudero de caballero andante se haya puesto con su señor en cuanto *mas* tanto me habeis de dar cada mes porque os sirva?"

¹⁸Cf. two other examples from *Amad.* under D, (3) below.

(where the notion of doubt or denial is corroborated by the use of the subjunctive in the dependent clause and by the use of direct address); I 233 21 "¿cómo gente forzada? preguntó D. Quijote: ¿Es posible que el rey haga fuerza á *ninguna* gente?"; *Cel.* 1 9 "quien vido en esta vida cuerpo glorificado de *ningun* hombre como agora el mio?"; 20 27 "quando me viste, señor, embidiar, o por *ningun* interesse ni resabio tu prouecho estorcer?"; *Cartas* 58 A 5 "cuanto á lo de mi ida ahí, ¿estaban en su seso, que habia yo de elegir *ningun* cabo, sino adonde me mandasen?"; *Cifar* 393 25 "ay fijo de rey! commo vos puedo yo gradescer *ninguna* cosa, teniendo oytan en poco commo me touistes?"; *Patr.* 116 7 "¿sabrá *ninguno* de vosotros acaso de qué nación es?" (where the doubt entertained is further attested by the probability connoted by *acaso* and the future tense).

(3) *With special or other connotative negatives*— When terms constitute special negatives or are partially or remotely negative or exclusive, *ninguno* is at times employed after them. These connotative terms often serve as indirect prohibitions or warnings or as disapproval—a use not unknown to modern Spanish: *Marta y María* 272 2 "de otro modo es *pecado* fijar nuestra atención y nuestro amor en *ninguna* criatura."¹⁹ The following are those encountered in the texts examined: II 362 3 "fuera pues, caterva dueñesca, *inútil* para *ningun* humano regalo"; I 569 9 "el pobre está *inhabilitado* de poder mostrar la virtud de liberalidad con *ninguno*"; I 328 1 "pero *toda* mi industria y *toda* mi solicitud fué y ha sido de *ningun* provecho" (after the approximate negative *todo*, and which, coming after *ser*, presents an analogous case with *ser nada*);²⁰ I 160 21 "y cuán *ajena* vive de condescender con los deseos de *ninguno* de sus amantes" (*ajeno* implying restriction comparable to English *distant*, *not near*); II 296 21 "pero *toda* su gentileza y buen donaire, y *todas* sus gracias y habilidades fueran *poca* o *ninguna* parte para rendir la fortaleza de mi niña" (as alternative to *poco*, an approximate negative, and also influenced by *todo*).

¹⁹A. Palacio Valdés, *Marta y María*, Obras Completas, II (Librería General de Victoriano Suárez), Madrid, 1917.

²⁰Cf. ch. IV, 6, second paragraph.

The *Cartas* yield the following: 190 B 2 "por todas partes nos da á entender el mundo la poca siguridad, que hemos de tener, de *ningun* contento" (where *poco* is tantamount to the prefix *in-* or *un-* in the formation of a special negation); 230 B 19 "les está mejor en estos monesterios el tratar *poco* con *ninguno*"; 57 B 37 "su Majestad lo remedie, y á mí me *libre* de verme con *ninguna* [ofensa]" (after privative verb); 212 B 38 "y *enojarmehia* muy mucho, si las diesen *ninguna* ocasion para ello" (after a verb connotative of negation, equivalent to *no agradar* or the like); 326 A 1 "porque va muy *fuera* del espiritu de Descalzas *ningun* género de asi-miento" (where the inadvisability or impropriety is indirectly expressed through use of a term of exclusion); 228 B 45 "me determino en que seria gran *atrevimiento* ponerla en *nenguno* [gobierno]" (another indirect prohibition); 146 B 8 "harta pena me han dado... porque pensar que en *ninguna* de estas casas andan las cosas peor, que las de las Calzadas de Andalucia me *es una muerte*" (that is, it is insufferable, intolerable).

The *Corbacho* contains but three such indirect or connotative negatives: 276 28 "dexese, pues, de judgar aquel e el otro a *ninguno*" (*dejar* being privative or exclusive, a use quite common in Spanish); 225 12 "*fuya* quanto pudiere de aver palabras *feas* con *ninguno*" (with *huir* expressing the notion of *prevent*, *avoid*); 322 22 "*dura cosa es* a *ninguno* querer meterse más adelante que non deue" (an indirect manner of saying "not easy," "impossible," that is, a privative or restriction).

The only instance appearing in the *Patrañuelo* contains the indirect prohibition or privative *atrevimiento* and that implied in the indirect question: 183 13 "y preguntando que quién le había dado tal licencia y *atrevimiento* de castigar de tal manera hijo de *ninguno*, respondió..."

The *Amadís* affords an interesting variety of such approximate negatives that induce *ninguno*: 72 A 6 "si me ayude [not a condition] Dios... yo creo que á *duro* podria *ninguno* amar á él ni á otro tanto"; 227 B 51 "las lluvias eran tan espesas é los vientos tan apoderados... que en gran *desesperacion* estaban de ser las vidas remediadas por *ninguna* manera"; 195 B 38 "é muy gran *locura* seria de *ninguno* pensar de ser su igual" (that is, *unwise*

unheard of); 240 A 35 “¡oh, loco el tal pensamiento, creer *ningun* príncipe... que pueda ser amado de Dios” (a second example with *loco* connoting impossibility, injudiciousness, and, therefore, a moral denial); 349 B 42 “mi buen señor, el tiempo é la juventud hasta aquí me han sido muy *contrarios á ningun* reposo” (that is, *unfavorable, therefore, prevented*); 14 A 17 “que *mal hayan* cuantos tienen por derecho que *ningun* villano ponga mano en dueña ni en doncella” (with a punitive wish by way of indirect prohibition or denial); 349 B 55 “sus corazones estaban *libres* de ser sujetos á *ningunas* de aquellas señoras ni á otras algunas” (though formally privative, here equivalent to *unlikely, in no danger, impossible*); 81 A 42 “*defendiendo á todos* que *ninguno* fuese tan osado” (and also after this privative: 113 A 21); 80 B 50 “*guardando* que *ninguno* los contrallase”; 103 A 8 “*teniéndolo en casa* por le *quitar* que con *ninguno* hablase”; 39 A 48 “é *quitarnos heis* de afrenta con el Rey en le demandar para nuestras cosas *ningun* caballero”; 322 B 61 “el rey Lisuarte, que estaba *en esperanza ninguna* de poder cobrar lo perdido... mucho fué maravillado” (in which it is possible that the notion of *doubt or uncertainty*, especially when preceded by *en*, may lie in *esperanza*); 324 B 38 “*pocas veces iba allí ninguno*” (where in *poco*, as in *todo* and *otro*, there inheres a restriction,²¹ as in the following examples); 230 A 34 “y que si por él algunas [aventuras] habían pasado, sabiéndose que esta dejaba, *todas* ellas en sí quedaban *ningunas*” (where *ninguno* equals *nothing, null, nada*).

Lucanor shows no other instances of the use of *ninguno* after implied negatives than that in C above and that in the second paragraph below.

Cifar offers very little in this regard: 306 25 “e porende... deuedes vos *guardar* de maldezir de *ninguno*”; 319 8 “e non deue *sofrir* que *ninguno* non se atreua a desfazer lo quel feziere”; 162 23 “*verguença grande seria a ninguno* en dezir que venia de sangre de reyes andando asy pobre commo yo ando” (that is, *shameful, disgraceful, improper, unbecoming*, and which, as in the following examples, indirectly denies, disapproves, or prohibits); 509 7 “e ciertas grant *atreuimiento* e grant *locura* es en atreuerse

²¹Cf. ch. I, 6 *poco*; V, 11 *otro*, 12 *todo*.

ninguno a yr contra la voluntad de su señor"; 52 8 "e el dixome que seria *locura* en llegar a consejo de *ninguno*, ante que fuese llamado"; 500 25 "ca grand *locura* e *mengua* de entendimiento serie en querer *ninguno*, por poderoso que fuese en este mundo, pararse contra el poder de Dios."

E. *In conditions and kindred constructions*— We have already seen that negation is often implied in conditions and certain types of relative clauses.²² It will be observed, however, that in case of the latter there is ever present a strong idea of comparison or superlative and, therefore, of exclusion or denial, though indirectly put, of any higher degree outside the pale of that construction. One recalls the superlativeness in such sentences as: "Es el mejor libro que haya leído," for "no hay libro que sea tan bueno como éste." Operative also in such sentences are the factors of concession, indifference, and denial. The principle of indefiniteness, such as that advanced by Prof. Pietsch in connection with the following example from *Grail*,²³ is. I feel, incapable of evoking a negative: *Grail* 61 2 "asy faz el pecado [el diablo] de [to. with] aquellos que fazen *rren* [nada] de su voluntad." Here *asy faz* refers to the severe punishment just described in the preceding sentence, and thus it constitutes a warning or prohibition; hence, the auxiliary negative following it. In support of the theory of indefiniteness, there follow these two instances which employ *ninguno*: *FBrihuega* 150 "*todo* ome que forzare a otro *ninguna* cosa..."; *Boc. Oro* 217 "*non* es sabio conplido el que se alegra de *ninguna* cosa deste mundo nin el que se desmaya de *ninguna* cosa de las sus tempestades."²⁴ In the first, *todo* would be sufficiently negative to call out the use of *ninguno*; furthermore, the context probably indicated a punitive prohibition, hence the kinship with condition. In the second, *ninguno* appears in a clause dependent upon a main negated verb and, in addition, there is well-defined exclusion or privative notion underlying the attribution *non es*

²²Cf. ch. I, 4, especially examples II 45 9 and II 408 33, for negation in relative clauses; ch. V, 1, C, second paragraph, for *nunca* after *cuanto*; ch. VI, 3, B, (2), for *ni*.

²³Cf. *Grail* II, p. 187, note to I 61 2.

²⁴Cf. *Ibid.*, II, 187, note to I 61 3.

sabio conplido. In the following two examples one readily senses the strong superlative and exclamatory character of the construction with the condition, where the meaning is "no one more than": *Luc.* 278 20 "dizia a los reyes e sennores a que yva, que si *ningun* omne merescia muerte de traydor por matar su sennor et su padre, que la merescia el"; *Cifar* 396 3 "e verdat es que sy *ninguna* dueña vy en *ningunt* tienpo que de buenas palabras fuese, vos aquella sodes."

It is significant that all the examples quoted by Llorens illustrating *ninguno* in its use as "indeterminado" are readily explainable by the fact that it occurs in connection with conditional clauses of a punitive nature or after connotative negatives equivalent to special negatives such as those discussed in D and E above.²⁵ In the only Spanish example quoted by him in this connection, he fails to see that *non cierta* constitutes a special negative equivalent to *incierta*, and is therefore, a case of *ninguno* after a negative: J. de Mena 153 b "assi flutuosos, Fortuna aborrida,—tus casos ynciertos semejan, e tales,— que corren por ondas de bienes e males— faziendo *non cierta ninguna* corrida." Note, too, that in the great majority of the examples advanced by Llorens under "Negación potencial,"²⁶ there appears a punitive or kindred prohibitive notion.

5. *Alguno*— *Alguno* as negative survives only in the auxiliary use. There is to be found but scanty treatment of this word in its negative significance,²⁷ and Weigert fails to consider it at all. It is necessary to indicate merely the general facts and tendencies. It is found at times alternating with *ninguno*, which it almost entirely replaces in postsubstantive position in the *Quijote*. Especially noteworthy is the vast use made of it after *sin*, even in presubstantival position. It was doubtlessly the extremely frequent use in postsubstantival position that gave rise to its use as a negative even in the presubstantival. In the other works, *alguno* is not so common as *ninguno*, and the presubstantival use is less

²⁵Cf. Llorens, p. 93.

²⁶Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁷Cf. Diez, p. 1074; Llorens, p. 96.

frequent than it is in the *Quijote*. In the *Cartas*, *alguno* as negative is rare, the use being limited to the postsubstantival. The same is true for the *Corbacho*, where it alternates often pronominally with *ninguno*. The *Amadis* shows *alguno* somewhat frequently, though not nearly so much as *ninguno*, and the pre-substantival use is rare. The postsubstantival *alguno* is limited almost to use after comparisons, *sin*, and *otro*, and the pronominal use is infrequent. In *Cifar* *alguno* is rare. The *Patrañuelo* presents practically the modern situation, as both it and *ninguno* occur frequently in postsubstantival position. I have no record of negative *alguno* in *Lazarillo*, *Celestina*, *Lucanor*, and *Grail*.

A. *As adjective*—As has just been indicated the postpositive use is by far the more frequent, as the prepositive occurs in but some thirty cases and with certain restrictions.

(1) *Postsubstantival*—In this use *alguno* appears to be more genuinely negative than it does when prepositive. As the examples will show, it may be quantitative as well as numerical or distributive. Note how it is used as alternative with *ninguno*. It is used extremely often after *otro*, *sin*, *sin otro* and is very frequent after *duda*, *palabra*, *persona*, and *cosa*: II 26 9 “y de los moros no se podia esperar verdad *alguna*” (and similarly: I 546 33, 216 25, 442 23); I 554 23 “sin la cual aprobacion... ninguna justicia en su lugar dejase representar comedia *alguna*” (and again alternating with *ninguno*, I 580 11); II 60 27 “que no estaba tan claro que pudiese echar de sí rayos *algunos*”; I 361 3 “que no podia... entremeterse en ninguna empresa... y que puesto esto sabia él mejor que otro *alguno*” (and similarly with *otro*: I 323 32, 150 10); I 467 23 “porque bien vimos, que ella y no otra *alguna* era la que habia de dar medio”; I 551 21 “ni se le [disparate] halló en la del *Merceder Amante*... ni en otras algunas de *algunos* [ciertos] entendidos poetas han sido compuestas”; I 317 26 “sin ser vista... de otra *persona alguna*” (and thus with *sin* extremely frequent); I 313 20 “que sin *duda alguna* de blanco alabastro parecia” (and so, very frequent after *sin duda*); II 164 18 “entónces la hermosa Quiteria sin responder *palabra alguna*” (and, so, frequently after *palabra*); II 226 9 “miró D. Quijote á todas partes, y no vió *persona alguna*”

(somewhat common after *persona*); I 557 20 "digo que no mentiré en cosa alguna" (of which there are no few examples).

(2) *Presubstantival*— In some thirty examples we find *alguno* before its noun, where, at times, it partakes strongly of the nature of the indefinite article, being rendered as *a certain, some sort, and the like*; that is, in such cases it appears not to be so negative as in postposition. In the first four examples, observe that it is equivalent to *some, some sort, certain, or few*, while in the last four it is strictly exclusive, differing little if any from *ninguno*: I 273 8 "vive Dios,... que no puedo sufrir ni llevar en paciencia *algunas* cosas que vuestra merced dice"; I 410 31 "todo lo cual escuchó Lotario sin poder dar muestra de *alguna* alegría"; II 233 16 "y ten cuenta de no encajar *algún* refran de los tuyos"; II 243 15 "dígalo por su vida, porque estos señores no me tengan por *algún* hablador mentiroso" (and similarly: I 251 6, 391 28, 391 36, 399 36, 443 11, 555 10; II 116 8, 192 1, 280 9, 290 8, 502 21); I 333 33 "pues sin *alguna* duda se daba á entender que habia de venir á ser emperador" (probably the only instance of the use with *sin duda*); II 32 6 "sin haber dado *algunos* propios á la luz del mundo"; I 388 B 19 "pero mi suerte, de quien— Jamas espero *algún* bien"; II 352 1 "no me harán *algún* daño" (and similarly: I 308 1, 478 27; II 30 26, 195 29, 512 3, 522 33, 555 15;²⁸ I 296 27, 316 21, 483 8; II 229 26, 278 38).

Marín states that this prepositive *alguno* is not rare in the contemporaries of Cervantes;²⁹ but my limited investigations show it to be very rare, as the following examples indicate. Of these, only the last three are truly negative, the others being equivalent to the indefinite pronoun or article: *Amad.* 325 A 45 "por no recibir *algún* [some] entrevalo en mi propósito"; 326 A 7 "que no venia sin *alguna* causa grande"; *Patr.* 45 7 "porque no diesen ninguna señal de alteración con que se pudiese tomar *algún* conocimiento de su yerro y culpa"; 24 16 "que no mostraba en *alguna* cosa ser nascida ni doctrinada en la aspereza del monte"; *Marcos*

²⁸Cf. Marín, VII, *alguno*, who annotates these first seven examples, together with the last quoted above.

²⁹Cf. *Ibid.*, II 370 14.

II 293 7 "aunque las conchas de la bestia marina eran tan duras que no le pudo herir por alguna parte"; *Amad.* 226 A 22 "porque á mí no conviene haber *algún* descanso ni reposo."

B. *As pronoun*—Of less frequent use is *alguno* as a pronoun. and here, too, it appears at times to be more affirmative and at others more negative. Sometimes it seems to be little stronger than *uno*. Can it be that *alguno* is preferable for *nobody* when there is a limitation through a phrase or clause? This pronoun, of course, refers to a definite group or a number or group already referred to, as well as signifying the indefinite *nadie*.

(1) *Of definite group*—The following show the pronoun referring to a definite or implied number and equals *any one, some one*: II 355 37 "pero adviértase primero no sea *alguno* de los espías ó matador mio" (amounting to but little more than *uno*); I 354 26 "mas dijome que no habia visto hasta entónces *alguno* [de los galeotes]."

(2) *Equivalent to "ninguno" or "nadie"*: I 367 24 "que no ha de haber *alguno* [ninguno, nadie] tan ignorante que tenga por historia verdadera ninguna destos libros"; II 166 31 "y no se la ha de quitar *alguno* [ninguno, nadie] por poderoso que sea"; II 90 10 "y no le parezca á *alguno* que anduvo el autor algo [nada] fuera del camino" (where *algo* for *nada* follows the same trend);³⁰ I 407 7 "pero por parecerme que *alguno* no puede perseverar en el intento amoroso luengo tiempo" (equivalent to *uno*—itself formerly used as negative³¹—or else a possible unique instance in the text of the use of the affirmative pronoun plus verbal negation); II 474 36 "agora, señor D. Quijote, que estoy enterado que no nos oye y escucha *alguno*" (note *y* as well as *alguno* here); (similarly *alguno* after negatives: I 63 3, 399 14; II 218 12, 261 20, 303 31).

I have record of but one instance of the pronominal *alguno* in the *Amadís*, as *ninguno* is the rule: 284 B 36 "é buscarse ha medio como delante todos, no oyendo *alguno* lo que pasa, le pueda hablar." In the *Corbacho* it is often used for *nadie* and *ninguno* and especially interesting as alternative with the latter: 276 26 "non piense por ende *alguno* que prosperar... es reynar"; 282 17 "non

³⁰Cf. Marín, II 370 14.

³¹Cf. Llorens, §§11 and 65.

tener predominio en la alma *alguno* nin *ninguno*"; 70 21 "non matarás a *ninguno* nin *alguno*"; 317 1 "de oy más, pues, *ninguno* nin *alguna* alegue que la su ventura le fizo malo o mala" (showing also a change of gender, as does the following); 208 16 "e que *ninguno* nin *alguna* non les ose dezir peor de señora."

C. *With approximate negatives*— *Alguno* occurs, though rarely, after approximate negatives, especially after *otro* in the second member of a comparison: I 576 24 "y primero que *alguno* de sus muchos pretendientes cayese en la cuenta de su deseo, ya ella le tenia cumplido" (where, coming after *primero*, *ninguno* might well have served); I 71 20 "mas pudiendo *más* su locura que otra razon *alguna*"; I 161 9 "por ser lugar tan acomodado á hallar aventuras, que en cada calle tras cada esquina se ofrecen *mas* que en *otro alguno*"; II 35 24 "llevado *mas* del interes que de darla se le sigue, que de otra alabanza *alguna*"; I 79 32 "*como si mal alguno* hubiesen tenido" (negation being implied in the condition contrary to fact and in *mal*).

The *Patrañuelo* has one example of this use after the privative *guardar*: 85 11 "porque se acordase della adonde quiera que estuviese, y fuese *guardado* de algunos peligros." The following instances from the *Amadís* seem to show *alguno* after *otro* and certain other words which may easily connote negation or restriction. To be sure there always follows verbal negation: 352 A 35 "porque ya estaban muy cerca de la insula Firme, donde *embarazo alguno no* se esperaba"; 329 B 1 "teniéndose él en su poder, donde *peligro alguno no* se aventuraba"; 284 B 8 "fuése luego al aposentamiento de Oriana, donde *hombre alguno* entrar no podia" (*hombre* being felt as negative); 196 A 6 "así porque de *otro alguno no* lo podiera saber"; 236 B 9 "que por ello á vos ni á *otro alguno no* verná daño."

6. *Nadie*— In the main *nadie* follows the use that it has in modern Spanish. We have seen that *ninguno* and *alguno* alternate with it as indefinite pronouns. We note, too, that *quien* replaces it under certain circumstances. There is little use of *nadie* after implied negatives.

A. *As ordinary auxiliary*— But few examples will suffice to indicate the regular use after formal negatives: II 285 31 "*no*

dirás desto nada á *nadie*"; II 182 6 "y así *no* hay para qué com-para á *nadie* con *nadie*"; II 105 28 "que *no* sabe *nadie* el alma de *nadie*"; I 540 34 "que de voluntad y á sabiendas *jamas* le [desaguisado] dí á *nadie*"; II 409 25 "*sin* que *nadie* nada le dijese"; II 105 24 "en el cual se sabe que *no* soy yo hombre que me dejo manosear el rostro de *nadie*"; II 15 33 "*ni* procuro que *nadie* me tenga por discreto *no* lo siendo"; I 482 1 "toda la cual [tierra] vimos desierta y *sin nadie* que nos descubriese."

B. "*Quien*" for "*nadie*"— It is interesting to note that, instead of *nadie* as in the last example above, the general practice in the text is to use *quien* in the relative clause:³² I 231 24 "eso *no* hay *quien* lo quite"; I 465 7 "si *no* tienes *quien* te escriba arábigo, dí-melo por señas"; I 540 24 "porque *no* hay en el mundo *quien* se acuerde dellos"; II 40 1 "hablais de tan rodeada manera, que *no* hay *quien* os entienda."

C. *With implied negation*— Rarely do we find *nadie* induced by indirect or implied negation; nor do the grammarians find much noteworthy in this regard.³³ Bello and Diez transcribe the same example from Cervantes, where the factor inducing *nadie* is the restriction or negation often contained in a condition, especially when prohibition is connoted: "mi amo es el hombre más celoso del mundo, y si él supiese que yo estoy ahora aquí hablando con *nadie*, no sería más mi vida."³⁴ Note the punitive notion contained in the apodosis, which Diez fails to include in his example, if, indeed, the two quotations refer to the same passage in Cervantes. In the same article of Bello's there is given an undocumented example of a similar use of *nadie* in a question. The same use may be found in modern Spanish: *Un Drama Nuevo* "¿quién es? ¿Qué se ofrece? ¿Por qué entra *nadie* aquí?"³⁴ The following are the sole instances to be found in the *Quijote*: II 333 17 "y en resolucion, *antes* dormiré vestido que consentir que *nadie* me desnude" (expressing denial or refusal through a comparison); I 563 8 "porque querer dar á entender á *nadie*, que Amadís *no* fué en el mundo... será querer persuadir que el *sol no* alumbra..." (in-

³²Cf. ch. IV, 4, B, (2), for *ninguno* similarly used, and V, 10, A, *cosa* for *nada*.

³³Cf. Bello, §1142; Diez, p. 1078.

³⁴Tamayo y Baus, *op. cit.*, IV 240 17.

direct negation through positing an incontrovertible fact); II 285 20 "mujer de un gobernador eres, *mira si* te roerá *nadie* los zancajos" (negation through indirect question).

The *Cartas* alone of the other texts examined yield instances of the use of *nadie* after implied negation: 135 B 6 "y *quítela* la esperanza de que ha de tratar con *nadie*"; 85 B 12 "vuestra reverencia mire por sí, y *guárdese* del agua de la zarparrilla para *nadie*"; 35 A 18 "yo *me espanto* cómo le puede pesar á *nadie* de su gran bien" (in an indirect question expressing doubt); 135 B 11 "mas yo sé bien, que á ella *menos* que á *nadie* conviene"; 180 A 13 "ya yo veo, que vuestra paternidad tiene *mas* cuidado que *nadie*" (and similarly after a comparison, 266 B 32).

7. *Equivalents of "nadie"*— Although *nadie* has survived as the most usual pronoun for *nobody*, in earlier times, and for emphasis even today, certain other terms are found.³⁵ We have seen from time to time that *ninguno* and *alguno* often replace it. At times, the negative strengthening assumes the guise of a periphrasis: I 107 27 "una noche se salieron del lugar sin que *persona* lo viese"; I 83 4 "no pensaba dejar *persona viva* [a living soul] en el castillo"; II 479 8 "no habia *persona humana* que responder pudiese"; II 11 16 "por mí... doy la palabra... no decir lo que vuesa merced dijere á *rey ni á Roque ni á hombre* terrenal"; I 366 33 "y no le harán creer otra cosa [otherwise] *frailes descalzos*"; I 545 18 "yo no estoy preñado de nadie, respondió Sancho, ni soy hombre que me dejaría empreñar del *rey que fuese*" (where, as in the following examples, recourse is had to a periphrastic manner with a noun and a relative clause); I 509 28 "no se acordaba en aquel instante de *la madre que lo habia parido*"; I 237 34 "que resultó de la burla crecer la parentela tan intrincadamente, que no hay *diablo* que la declare"; II 212 15 "pero no habrá *diablo* que ahora le tome"; I 278 4 "y no se la dés á trasladar á ningun escribano, que hacen letra procesada, que no la entenderá *Satanas*."

The works of earlier date show greater variety in this regard and especially in the use of *persona*, *hombre*, etc. This is especially

³⁵Cf. Diez, p. 1082, §9; Llorens, §§83-87.

true for the *Corbacho* and the *Amadís*, in which latter work *persona* is very frequent. As the modern epoch approaches, the fewer are the substitutes for *nadie*: *Cifar* 32 27 "quiero vos dezir la mi poridat, la que nunca dixé a cosa del mundo"; *Corb.* 270 14 "que nunca me acuerdo aver dicho mentira a ome nascido"; 296 26 "non sé al mundo ome nascido que de grado non te aborresca"; 233 4 "non ha temor de persona que byua"; *Cel.* 14 31 "que ni la quiero veer a ella ni a muger nascida"; 123 26 "que no este persona delante"; 136 8 "señor, ninguna gente parece"; 147 15 "que no querría ya topar hombre que paz quisiesse"; *Laz.* 34 7 "ni sentir arriba ni abaxo passos de biua persona por la casa"; 42 10 "que tienes en comer la mejor gracia que en mi vida vi a hombre"; *Amad.* 74 B 10 "sin que de persona la haya fiado"; *Patr.* 173 19 "sin ver persona nascida"; 224 20 "pues cometí contra ti la mayor traición que hombre del mundo hizo."

8. *Nada*— Since it is in the auxiliary use that *nada* is found most frequently,³⁶ there occur numerous examples throughout the text. We recall that *ninguna cosa* is the most common word for *nothing*, especially in the earlier period.³⁷ I shall quote but few examples of the ordinary use, reserving the greater part of the discussion for certain instances that, though not extremely irregular, seem to merit special attention. *Nada* is somewhat rare in the other works examined. This is true especially for the *Lucanor*, and the *Patrañuelo* shows it used only six times and never as absolute. Of the few instances of *nada* in the *Cifar*—all being auxiliary—the use is almost entirely confined to verbs meaning to *matter, be worth*. The other texts correspond in general to the modern practice, which, as a whole, is that of the *Quijote*.

A. As pronoun: I 332 29 "esta hermosa señora... es como quien no dice *nada*" (and again in this idiom: II 320 29); II 311 24 "y sé que Malambrino no tiene *nada* de malicioso"; II 328 37 "eso no, Sancho...que el necio en casa ni en la ajena sabe *nada*"; I 398 11 "las cuales quando ven á las amas echar traspiés, no se les da *nada* á ellas de cojear" (and again with *dársele*: I 319 2, and elsewhere); II 210 14 "no sé que tenga *nada* vuestro"; I 74 29

³⁶Cf. ch. IV, 6.

³⁷Cf. chs. IV, 4, A, (1); V, 4, A.

"no estuvo en *nada* en acompañar"; I 389 9 "en los tres dias primeros nunca Lotario le dijo *nada*"; II 342 30 "jamás le pediría *nada*"; II 317 3 "sin decir *nada* á nadie"; I 136 4 "sin faltar *nada*"; II 409 25 "sin que nadie *nada* le dijese."

B. *As adverb*— Here we find *nada* qualifying a verb, or an adjective. In the first example below, the subject, *Sancho*, separates it from *alegre*, to which it logically refers. Marín shows similar transposition, if it be such, by Cervantes himself, "*y otras cosas muchas mas que no asenté...*"³⁸ He points out that the majority of the editors seek to rearrange the position of *nada*. In the edition of Clemencín which I refer to in this study, the passage reads, "no iba *nada* alegre Sancho," concerning which the editors have the following explanation: "transposición semejante á esta otra:³⁹ *un poco venía diferentemente atado,*" referring to the passage as found in I 238 15 of the present edition. But here again it appears that a different reading is intended, since it is evident that *un poco* belongs to the preceding sentence and that *venía* initiates a new sentence.⁴⁰ Without such a reading, the sentence as contained in the Princeps and as followed by the editor of the present text, is syntactically at fault. It appears, therefore, that Cervantes intended *nada* to stand as in the following: II 534 10 "no iba *nada* Sancho alegre"; I 291 35 "que no le dañaba *nada* la conciencia"; I 415 16 "y Ricote, sin tropezar *nada* en su lengua morisca...le dijo" (and also construed with the verb: I 231 34, 321 25, 460 22); I 367 10 "no piense vuestra merced darme papilla, porque por Dios que no soy *nada* blanco" (where, as in the following examples, it is referable to an adjective); I 215 29 "aunque él de suyo no era *nada* brioso" (and similarly: I 243 23, 279 6; II 160 8, 382 13, 418 2); I 121 19 "habiendo y debiendo ser los historiadores puntuales, verdaderos y *no nada* apasionados" (with juxtaposition of *no* and the auxiliary, in which the phrase is always introduced by *y*; and similarly: I 412 28, II 119 30, 256 12, 256 31, 311 35, 346 22).⁴¹

³⁸Cf. Marín, VI 409 11.

³⁹Cf. Clemencín, VIII, 224, note 4.

⁴⁰Cf. Marín, II 200 8.

⁴¹Cf. Llorens, §74.

C. *With implied negation*— There is scant use made of *nada* after implied negatives. I have record in the text of but the following: one question, two after *antes*, and one with *todo*. In the example showing *nada* in a question, the text fails to show the pronoun, although it appears in the Princeps. Marín gives documentary proof of its use in Feliciano de Silva's *La segunda Comedia de Celestina*.⁴² Its use here is evidently an indirect way of denying, reproving, or ridiculing, in which *nada* takes the place of some ironical term or oath: I 105 19 "¿iqué aposento ó qué *nada* busca vuestra merced?"; II 117 20 "*antes* que le preguntase *nada* le salió al camino"; II 178 26 "y *antes* que preguntase *nada* á Montesinos"; II 315 23 "ea, buen señor, buen ánimo, buen ánimo, que *todo* es *nada*."⁴³

Elsewhere the use appears somewhat more commonly after *todo*, with *tanto como* (with the comparative notion) and with certain other connotative terms: *Cel.* 95 10 "*que* te dize esse señor a la oreja? Piensa que tengo de fazer *nada* de lo que pides?" 88 22 "*todo* lo tuuo en *nada*"; *Cartas* 31 A 9 "mas como no me torna el dolor que solia, es *todo nada*"; 62 B 27 "y que vengan, tomada la posesion, es *todo nada*"; 208 B 17 "*todos* los trabajos que hemos pasado fueron *nada* en esta comparacion"; 44 A 36 "*poco* caso podemos hacer de *nada*"; 231 B 31 "mas dábaseles *poca* cuenta de *nada*"; 316 A 23 "y estoy tan *cansada* de meterme en *nada*"; 215 A 34 "porque me *pesará* mucho si se come *nada*"; 303 B 29 "mucho me *pesa* que se parezca á mí en *nada*"; *Corb.* 35 29 "syn el qual *todo* saber es *nada*"; 83 21 "que les paresçe que *todos* son *nada*, fijos de *nada*, synon él"; 251 9 "que *todo* es *nada* synon solo Dios Todopoderoso"; *Luc.* 245 14 "ca *todo* esto preciaba el *nada*"; *Amad.* 111 B 36 "*temiendo* que Durin *nada* [algo] de su secreto sabia, encubrió lo mas que pudo"; 322 B 1 "pero *todo* era *nada*"; 236 A 27 "*todo* parecia *nada* ante lo natural"; 235 A 57 "é *todo* quanto en las otras partes le parecia *nada*"; 34 B 4 "todo le parecia tanto como *nada*"; 104 B 5 "é bien sabeis para contra él *tanto* es como *nada*" (which, as in the two following, denies through use

⁴²Cf. Marín, I 240 4.

⁴³Cf. *ser nada*, ch. IV, 6, second paragraph.

of a comparison of equality, though, to be sure, there is always the possibility of *nada's* being a noun in such cases); 98 B 48 "en pensar que lo suyo *tanto como nada* era"; 104 A 3 "que á tí é á ellos precio *tanto como nada*."

9. *Miscellaneous equivalents of "nada"*— Before proceeding to a consideration of the ordinary substitutes for *nada*, such as trifles, *cosa*, etc., attention may be directed to certain other reinforcements of the negative verb which do not fall into any definite class. This negative strengthening at times assumes the guise of a periphrasis: I 386 13 "y jamas podia sacar della *una pequeña* muestra de venir en ninguna cosa que mala fuese"; I 344 2 "y me lo [reino] habian de quitar todo sin dejarme *una pequeña* aldea donde me recogiese"; I 154 1 "y entre tantos tormentos, nunca alcanza— Mi vista á ver *en sombra* á la esperanza"; I 289 9 "la cual él no podia descubrir [disclose] *por los ojos que en la cara tenia*" (compare English *for the life of*); II 73 20 "y no os dejasen *hueso sano*"; I 588 5 "sin pagar *ofrecido sea al diablo* el maravedí" (which equals "ningún maravedí," but which, coupled with the oath, is equivalent to *nada*, as is the combination with the oath in the following); I 193 21 "mire que no hay gigante, ni caballero alguno, ni gatos, ni armas, ni escudos partidos ni enteros, ni veros azules ni *endiablados*" (that is, "de ninguna clase," "ni nada").

The following from the other texts are of interest: *Laz.* 19 9 "con no auer en la dicha camara...*maldita* la otra cosa"; 43 21 "y sin *maldita* la blanca ni señal que la vudiesse tenido"; 19 16 "verdad es que partia conmigo del caldo, que la carne *tan blanco el ojo*, sino vn poco de pan" (where, as in the two preceding, the oath element reinforces the negative notion); 26 15 "no me deuian de quitar el sueño *los cuidados del rey de Francia* [nada]"; *Cartas* 104 B 17 "no me le han dado, ni él me escribe *letra* [at all]"; 82 A 6 "no quiso dormir *noche* [at all] fuera del monesterio"; *Amad.* 48 B 13 "yo no daria por tí *una paja*"; 67 A 10 "fué así atordido de la caida, que no supo de sí *parte*"; 50 A 31 "é luego desarmó á Amadís, que no sabia de sí *parte*"; *Luc.* 114 7 "et omne del mundo non sabia della *parte*"; *Patr.* 47 8 "que de mí no sabía *parte*" (all of which seem to establish definitely that *parte* is as much an exclusive term as is *nada*).

10. *Other reinforcing negatives*— No little has been done toward indicating the several terms that serve to corroborate the negated verb.⁴⁴ Under *ninguno*, we saw how *ninguna cosa* is often used for *nada*. It is well known that similarly are found with that function *cosa*, *palabra*, and multitudinous words expressing minute size or small worth; that is, trifles. I include here *punto*, *paso*, and numbers and other terms involving negligible measure or departure. All such reinforcements are equivalent to English *at all*, *little*, *not a bit*, *nothing*. *Cosa* and *palabra* are found frequently in all the texts examined, while *punto*, *paso*, and the terms denoting trifles are almost absent from them. I shall, therefore, confine the discussion chiefly to the *Quijote*.

A. *Cosa*— It seems that *cosa* is especially in order when the indefinite pronominal notion is to be modified by an adjective or clause,⁴⁵ in which cases *nada* is very infrequent: II 334 32 “y al descalzarse...se le soltaron, no suspiros ni *otra cosa* que desacreditase a la limpieza”; I 587 30 “que no hay *cosa* mas gustosa en el mundo”; II 128 32 “que aquí no hay encanto ni *cosa* que lo valga”; II 30 34 “porque es tan clara que no hay *cosa* que dificultar en ella”; I 242 4 “no hicieron *cosa* que fuese de provecho”; I 72 31 “sin acontecerle *cosa* que de contar fuese”; I 417 8 “porque no pensaba oír *cosa* que contra Camila fuese”; I 293 21 “ni la demandase *cosa* de su hacienda”; I 111 29 “que hasta entónces no habia leído *cosa* en contrario en la órden”; I 176 33 “que á do quiera que ponian la mano no dejaban *cosa* sana” (and also: I 282 18, 392 6, 541 13, 404 12; II 66 19).

The use in the other texts is much less frequent: *Cel.* 141 23 “no me agrada *cosa* esta venia” (showing the adverbial use); 113 24 “que a mi no me queda *otra cosa* sino gozarme de vello”; *Laz.* 24 18 “ratones que no dexan *cosa* a vida”; *Cartas* 290 A 29 “y costumbre de nunca decir *cosa* de nada á los perlados” (alternating with *nada*); 179 A 22 “y de mí no se me da *cosa*”; 34 B 31 “y pídale que me le dé á mí para no salir en *cosa* de su voluntad”; 92 A 25 “porque *cosa* no creo que harán por nosotros” (with in-

⁴⁴Cf. Díez, pp. 1079-1081; Meyer Lübke, §693; Jespersen, ch. II; Llorens, §§76, 132; Lang, MLN, I, 127-129, and II, 186.

⁴⁵Cf. chs. IV, 4, B, (2), *ninguno* for *nadie*; V, 6, B, *quien* for *nadie*.

version of the order); *Corb.* 264 19 "que non entienden nada *nin* saben del mundo *cosa*" (where again it alternates with *nada*); 19 7 "que por *cosa* del mundo non le faltaria su amigo" (with inversion of the order); *Amad.* 213 A 33 "por *cosa del mundo* la haria mal" (where, indeed, it forms with its adjunct *del mundo* an absolute negative).

B. *Palabra*— *Palabra* loses its meaning *word* and comes to signify *not a word, not even a word, not a thing, nothing*; that is, it equals *to keep silent*. The text abounds in its use, although the other works make less frequent use of it. At times we find *más palabra*, but I have no record of *una palabra*: I 583 14 "que no oyó *palabra*"; I 426 37 "sin replicalle *palabra*"; I 387 16 "y he visto que no has dicho *palabra* á Camila"; II 350 10 "á todo esto no respondió D. Quijote otra *palabra* sino fué dar un profundo suspiro" (and thus very frequently after *responder*); I 81 24 "sin hablar D. Quijote *palabra*" (and thus very frequently after *hablar*); II 275 18 "y pasó el carro adelante sin hablar *mas palabra*"; I 213 11 "no será posible contar *mas palabra* dél."

C. *Trifles*— The other works show extremely little use of trivial terms as negative reinforcements, and none that is not contained in the *Quijote*. The following are those that I find in our text:

(1) *Coins*: I 108 31 "sepa, señor, que no vale dos *maravedis* para reina" (and similarly: I 54 5, 245 3); I 79 11 "respondió D. Quijote que no traia *blanca*" (and also II 34 31); II 484 23 "provecho quiero, que sin él no vale un *cuatrin* la buena fama"; I 184 27 "no pagaria un solo *cornado*"; II 219 12 "no se me daba *dos ardites*"; I 450 4 "sin defraudaros en un *ardite*"; II 172 28 "no importa un *ardite*" (and also with *un ardite*: I 247 25, II 7 34, 247 9; and with *estimar en dos ardites*, I 186 29, II 522 26).

(2) *Fruits, etc.*: II 62 5 "no se me da un *higo* que digan de mí todo lo que quisieren"; II 291 22 "y no se me da por cuantas dueñas hay un *cabrahigo*"; II 353 30 "no vale *dos habas*"; II 366 26 "dos *higas* para el Gran Capitan" (an instance of verbal ellipsis);⁴⁶ II 281 18 "que si no os ablandais mas que una *breva* madura,

⁴⁶That *higa* derives from *higo* is indicated by the following: II 239 11 "que de mí no podréis llevar sino una *higa*. Aun bien, respondió Sancho, que será bien madura."

que no habeis de empuñar el gobierno" (where, indeed, the term is employed in a comparison and equals *algo, algún tanto*).

(3) *Insects*— Rarely we find insects used in a comparison to emphasize small degree: II 229 6 "voto á tal que no nos movemos ni andamos *al paso de una hormiga*" (not even at an ant's gait"); I 348 2 "que si no fuese por el valor que ella infunde en mi brazo, que no le tendria yo para matar *una pulga*" ("insufficient to kill even a flea").

(4) *Fractional parts and small units*: II 71 8 "sin añadir ni quitar á la historia un átomo de la verdad"; I 353 6 "no se te quede en el tintero una *mínima*"; II 137 2 "el [año] que viene será de guilla de aceite, los tres siguientes no se cogerá *gota*" (referring to grain; while the following, though referring to liquids, still signify *a bit, nothing*: I 575 32, II 404 35); II 382 32 "no sé leer *migaja*"; II 24 24 "yo le traeré aquí luego al momento qulen se las [caloñas] diga todas, sin que les falte una *meaja*"; II 344 25 "y esta es toda la verdad sin faltar *meaja*"; II 413 4 "les dió á entender que no tenia *ostugo* de moneda" (and again, II 70 17); II 532 10 "que no soy yo mujer que por semejantes cabellos habia de dejar que me doliese *un negro de la uña*, cuanto mas morirme" (plainly not involving motion such as that seen in the following); I 214 17 "no osaba apartarse *un negro de uña* de su amo"; I 435 1 "digo que no supo ni sabe de la misa la *media*"; I 141 23 "aun no sé yo *la mitad* de los casos"; II 306 7 "porque pienso...darme una tanda de azotes que no me la cubra *pelo*"; II 458 29 "y juró...no tocarle en el *pelo* de la ropa"; II 517 1 "que me hará hacer juramento de no tocarme jamas al *pelo* del sayo, no que al de mis carnes"; I 447 20 "olvidándose de llevar *bocado* á la boca" (and again, II 183 8); I 237 25 "un mal de orina que llevo, que no me deja reposar *un rato*."

(5) *Numbers in measure*— Closely related to the foregoing, we find numbers used in measurements to represent restricted distance; but here there enters more of the notion of departure from an actual point: I 210 33 "sin osarse apartar dél *un dedo*" (and also with *un dedo*, I 251 32, II 109 8); I 145 4 "no estoy en *dos dedos* de ponello en duda" (and similarly with the plural, II 280 12, 403 24); I 494 8 "que no habia en toda la venta *un palmo* desocu-

pado"; I 170 7 "no tenia *siete palmos* de los piés á la cabeza"; I 253 15 "y no quise llegar á ella con *un tiro* de piedra"; I 471 19 "que estaba no *dos tiros* de ballesta del jardin"; I 278 23 "no la he visto *cuatro veces*" (and likewise with time and numbers: I 471 6, 572 36, II 115 29); I 511 13 "y así no se hubo movido *tanto cuanto*..."; I 446 17 "que [cañones] no distan de su cuerpo *una lanza*"; I 347 18 "no por cierto, ni con *la mitad*, y aun estoy por decir que no llega a su *zapato* de la que está delante"; I 584 2 "no consentiré que un *solo paso* adelante pase"; II 43 7 "que no nos hemos de mudar *un paso* de nuestra aldea" (and with *seis pasos*, I 314 18); II 366 34 "puesta en comparacion de mi hija no la llega con *dos leguas*"; I 169 18 "aun no hubo andado *una pequeña legua*, cuando..." (and also with *legua* I 141 20, 142 13).

(6) *Punto*— *Punto*, like *paso*, never generalized as a common negative as they did in French, where all idea of special restriction is lost. However, *punto* does occur as reinforcing negative in Spanish, usually with the article *un*, but occasionally without it. At times it is employed without the connotation of *point*, but rather meaning *a bit*, *at all*, motion being no longer requisite: I 176 29 "y todos menudeaban con tanta priesa, que no se daban *punto* de reposo"; II 239 13 "no perderá vuesa merced la quínola de sus años por *punto* ménos"; I 321 21 "segura de que á su parecer ninguno [desastre] podia llegar que el que tenia acrecentase *un punto*"; II 346 16 "y como si fueran pulgas no le dejaron dormir ni sosegar *un punto*"; I 428 7 "y sin cesar *un punto* de sus lágrimas"; I 114 35 "y sin detenerse *un punto*" (and similarly with *detenerse*, I 479 7, 514 33, II 508 23); II 260 24 "sin salir *un punto* del estilo" (and also with *salir*, I 65 23, 316 33); II 496 23 "y no se hallaba sin ellas [armas] *un punto*" (and again, II 219 36); I 334 12 "que todo se haria sin faltar *punto*" (and again, II 355 11; and with *un*, I 144 2).

11. *Otro*— Due to its frequent use as indefinite adjective or pronoun to exclude after the negated verb, *otro*, like *uno*, *alguno*, *hombre*, *nada*, *nadie*, and *todo*, came to be felt as a negative signifying *any one*, *not one*, *not even one*.⁴⁷ A few examples will

⁴⁷Cf. chs. I, 11, F; V, 4, D, (3) *Amad.* examples; Llorens, §65.

suffice: I 584 19 "dió voces á su moledor que no le diese *otro* [más, ningún otro] palo"; I 468 14 "que yo sé que volverás mejor que *otro* [nadie, ningún otro]"; *Cel.* 126 25 "has sacado de mi pecho lo que jamas a ti ni a *otro* [nadie, ninguno] pense descubrir"; *Laz.* 48 18 "que vn hidalgo no deue a *otro* que a Dios y al rey nada"; *Amad.* 33 A 39 "de guisa que de sí ni de *otro* sabia parte"; 17 A 55 "que en esta mi casa vos curará una doncella...mejor que *otra* que en esta tierra haya"; 18 A 5 "aquel á quien mas conviene traer armas que á *otro* caballero."

12. *Todo*—Auxiliary *todo* is often employed to limit or exclude, that is, the negative notion inheres in it. Jespersen shows how *all* may be used in its collective as well as in its distributive sense.⁴⁸ Llorens gives examples for the older stages of Spanish.⁴⁹ So often is it employed as a term of exclusion or reinforcement that soon it assumes negative value itself and becomes equivalent to *any, at all, no, none*. It is possible, too, that in the plural there was some confusion with *ningunos*, and as the latter was felt to be somewhat irregular, *todo* must have grown in popularity. We have already seen that *no* is construable with *todo* as a special negative and how, as is generally the case in Spanish, the negative tends to be attracted to occupy early position with the verb; hence the separation of *no* from the supplementary negative.⁵⁰ Besides *no todo* and *no...todo*, we find also *todo...no*, where *todo* seeks to exclude an entire genus. When qualifying a period of time it is equivalent to *at no time*. We have but to compare the logic of "I have not seen him all morning," for "at no time during the morning." In the *Primera Crónica General*,⁵¹ we find *todo* used as auxiliary equivalent to *ninguno, any*: 60 A 24 "et los romanos firieron en ellos muy de rezio, et uencieron los sin *todo* trabajo"; 723 B 8 "et fue y rreçebido sin *toda* contralla" (and similarly, 711 B 23, 722 B 39, 724 A 26). The following illustrate the use of *todo...no*:⁵² I 127 7 "mire vuestra merced bien, que por *todos* estos caminos *no* andan hombres armados" (meaning *in none*); I 525 28 "y

⁴⁸Cf. Jespersen, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁹Cf. Llorens, §65.

⁵⁰Cf. ch. II, 1, B.

⁵¹*Primera Crónica General de España*, N. B. A. E., V.

⁵²Cf. for English examples, Jespersen, pp. 87-88.

todos peleamos, y *todos no* nos entendemos" (none of us understands); I 422 12 "porque en *todo* el camino *no* la he visto el rostro"; II 479 7 "y mas viendo que en *todo* el aposento ni al derredor de la mesa *no* habia persona humana"; II 542 10 "que en *todos* los dias de mi vida *no* he estado en Zaragoza" (and also with *días de mi vida*. II 68 33, I 352 3); I 75 16 "como aquel que en *todo* aquel dia *no* se habia desayunado"; I 112 12 "*toda* aquella noche *no* durmió D. Quijote pensando en su señora Dulcinea."

It is in postverbal position that the negative notion in *todo* is best seen. We have seen in the preceding paragraph how it is thus used after *sin*, and, elsewhere, that it is followed by the auxiliaries *ninguno* and *nada*.⁵³ Later on it will be seen that its negative import is sufficient to induce a subsequent *ni* or *sino*:⁵⁴ II 354 34 "tambien, dijo el maestresala, me parece á mí que vuesa merced *no* coma de *todo* [any] lo que está en esta mesa" (showing the easy transition from the negating of the collective to that of the part); I 418 7 "y no hallándola en la cama *ni* en *toda* [any part of] la casa"; II 15 6 "y es con no llover en él *ni* en *todo* su distrito"; I 242 10 "*no* quedó guarda en *todo* el campo"; I 139 30 "sin ser parte su tio *ni* *todos* los del pueblo...dió en irse al campo"; *Amad.* 345 B 20 "*sin* que de *todos* [any] mis caballeros podiese ser defendido *ni* socorrido."

It is with expressions of time that *todo* is especially significant as an exclusive term, introduced always by *en*. The commonest phrases found are *toda su vida* and *todos los días de su vida*: II 131 13 "*no* saldrá en *todo* el dia"; II 227 14 "*ni* he oido tal vocablo en *todos* los dias de mi vida" (and similarly: I 137 35, 203 2, 433 4, 584 22; II 44 1, 542 27, 545 4); II 436 7 "yo, señor Duque, jamas he sido ladron, *ni* lo pienso ser en *toda* mi vida" (and similarly: I 358 27, II 533 16).

13. *Tampoco*— Although the negative adverb *tampoco* is etymologically positive, coming from *tan poco*, it soon lost its pristine significance and assumed the function of a reiterative negative, employed alike within the frame of a sentence or within that of a succeeding sentence. As its use is conditioned upon that

⁵³Cf. ch. V, 4, D, (3), and 8, C.

⁵⁴Cf. chs. VI, 3, A, (1); VII, 6, C.

of a preceding negative, it scarcely can be considered as an absolute negative. One finds little discussion of its uses, and that by Llorens is the only one that amounts to anything more than a mere mention or definition.⁵⁵ He treats it for the earlier period of the language, where its function is often taken over by certain positive terms plus *no*, similar to the rare construction with *también no* as seen in the two examples given in the following paragraph. *Tampoco* is relatively infrequent in the *Quijote* and the other works examined, and its use is that of modern Spanish. I shall therefore, limit the examples to a few from our text: I 184 19 "el cual dijo, que pues su señor *no* habia querido pagar que *tampoco* él pagaria" (in which, as in the two following, its use is preverbal after *no*); I 375 5 "que *no* eres el Anselmo que solias, y tú debes de haber pensado que *tampoco* yo soy el Lotario que debia ser"; I 82 27 "que en aquel castillo *no* habia capilla, y para lo que restaba de hacer *tampoco* era necesaria"; I 179 4 "y *no* debe de ser para mí. *Ni* para mí *tampoco*" (which, as in the three following, shows the use after *ni*, here with ellipsis of the verb); I 266 7 "y *no* estaba para proseguir su historia, *ni tampoco* D. Quijote se la oyera"; II 69 2 "que pues vuesa merced *no* la ha visto, *ni* yo *tampoco*"; II 46 6 "lo que Dios responderá á tus quejas yo *no* lo sé. *ni* lo que ha de responder su Majestad *tampoco*" (which, like the following, exemplifies the somewhat rare postverbal use); I 574 32 "que *ni* le obligaban *ni* nos desobligaban *tampoco*."

Just as the etymologically-positive *apenas* is at times replaced by *casi no*,⁵⁶ so, too, *también no* is occasionally found instead of *tampoco*.⁵⁷ *Tampoco* introduces a second negative, while, apparently, its near synonym is not thus limited, unless it be that there precedes it a connotative negation or term whose negative opposite is strongly felt by the speaker. It appears likely, however, that *también* is here entirely regular for the period of the language in which it is used; that is, it is due to the author's desire to express negatively an additional idea which has just been af-

⁵⁵Cf. Llorens, §56.

⁵⁶Cf. ch. I, 10, C.

⁵⁷Cf. Cej., p. 387, §21, who quotes, without comment, the second and fourth examples.

firmatively put. One feels that the original positive *tan bien* is still sensed here and that it might well be expressed by *asimismo* or *igualmente*. Marín calls attention to the phenomenon, and quotes the four examples that occur in the text, together with instances of its use with other authors of the time:⁵⁸ I 183 4 “mírabale tambien la hija del ventero, y él *tambien no* quitaba los ojos della” (*no quitar* being thus opposed to *mirar*, which presupposes uninterrupted attention); 460 11 “en los baños...suelen llevar á sus cautivos algunos particulares del pueblo...porque allí los tienen holgados y seguros hasta que venga su rescate. *Tambien* los cautivos del rey...*no* salen al trabajo con la demas chusma” (where the practice indulged in by the private citizens is equivalent to *no trabajar*); II 73 36 “este mi amo por mil señales he visto que es un loco de atar, y aun *tambien* yo *no* le quedo en zaga” (*loco de atar* being tantamount to “unrestrained madman”); II 325 23 “*tambien*, Sancho, *no* has de mezclar en tus pláticas la muchedumbre de refranes que sueles” (which, coming after a corrective and reproof by D. Quijote and an intervening negative statement by Sancho, is the only genuine instance of its use after a pure negative; and here its function seems to be rather that of *además*).

⁵⁸Cf. Marín, VII, *También*.

CHAPTER VI

USES OF *NI*

I find nowhere a satisfactory exposition of the significance and uses of *ni* for Spanish in general, and especially not for the *Quijote*, although good accounts are not lacking.¹ For the older language, Llorens offers us the most complete account,² giving a table of the several possible types. For the *Quijote*, Cejador's treatment, though it illustrates with some degree of detail, is insufficiently organized and is lacking in explanations.³ Diez and Meyer-Lübke deal chiefly with the anomalous uses, especially as regards the other Romance languages.⁴ Except for the frequent references to the *Quijote* found in Wiggers and Cejador, our text is rarely cited. Weigert at the outset restricts his treatment to the use made of *ni* in positive propositions or to those the negative notion of which is not at once apparent.⁵ These commentators uniformly fail to indicate the several types possible in its use and, on the whole, do not furnish adequate explanation for the apparently anomalous usages. With this in view, I have sought to indicate the general situation in the *Quijote*, to point out and illustrate the types to be met with, to discuss those sentences in which *ni* is seemingly used after positives, and to note certain minor uses, such as with phrases.

Before taking up in order the various types to be treated, let us consider briefly the nature of *ni* in general. Although it is found connecting series of concepts—terms of almost any function in the sentence—it becomes evident that it does not present them as alternatives, as there is no choice offered. Rather is *ni* a disjunctive conjunction or negative copulative which is equal to *y no*,

¹Cf. Bello, §§1137, 1151, 1219, 1253, 1254; *Acad. Gram.*, §§326-335; Ramsey, §§762-772; Wiggers, §55, 2; Peña, §§869, 1536, 1560-1562.

²Cf. Llorens, pp. 134-152.

³Cf. Cejador, §§190, 201, 208.

⁴Cf. Diez, pp. 1072, 1082; Meyer-Lübke, §§211, 213, 698.

⁵Cf. Weigert, §13.

after both negative and affirmative propositions. We find it correlative to *no* or *ni*. It is, then, not the contrary of *o*, but rather the negative of *y*. This juxtaposition of terms may be extended also to independent propositions or to connect positive terms in a dependent clause subordinate to another negative. *Ni* apparently may connect a positive with a negative term, thus showing itself capable of serving simultaneously as the negative of the second term and the connective for the previous; that is, it is in function both retrospective and prospective. The second term may be even a different sentence, whether by the same or another speaker. The *Quijote* is rich in its use of *ni*, especially in the variety of of types of coördinate uses, where it is not nearly so restricted as the other texts compared. Except for the greater variety just referred to, the situation is substantially the same in all the texts, and, therefore, I shall not extend the discussion beyond the *Quijote* save in so far as the other works offer interesting parallels or differences especially as regards the use with implied negation. Reference has already been made to the occurrence of *no* after *ni*.⁶

1. *Type sentences*— In the following types of sentences containing *ni*, I have made use of the plan and system advanced by Jespersen,⁷ which apparently served Llorens to good purpose,⁸ but which I, for my needs, have altered somewhat. Designating as A, B, C, etc., the several concepts to be connected, as *nv* verbal negation, as *nc* negative conjunction, and as *v* the verb, we arrive at the following combinations.

A. *nv ncv*: negative verb, negative connective, verb. We find this within a compound sentence or connecting independent sentences. This type of coördinate negation is very common.

(1) *With common subject*: I 435 1 “digo que no supo *ni* sabe de la misa la media”; II 152 23 “a todo esto no respondió Sancho, porque dormia, *ni* [y no] despertara tan presto si D. Quijote...no le hiciera volver en sí”; II 249 34 “el error en que está en pensar y decir que no ha habido *ni* los hay caballeros

⁶Cf. ch. III, 3, F.

⁷Cf. Jespersen, p. 103.

⁸Cf. Llorens, p. 138.

andantes en el mundo" (the position of the anticipatory *los* being of interest here); I 558 7 "de donde se viene á sacar, que los que no comen *ni* beben, *ni* duermen, *ni* hacen las obras naturales...estos tales están encantados"; II 110 23 "que no toque, maltrate, hiera *ni* mate al caballero" (which, as in the following example, shows the ellipsis of *ni* before the intermediate terms); I 159 11 "pero no me llame cruel *ni* homicida aquel á quien yo no prometo, engaño, llamo *ni* admito" (a somewhat rare omission); I 165 15 "por no ser caballero, *ni* quererlo ser, *ni* tener valor *ni* intención de vengar tus injurias *y* defender tu señorío" (showing *y* in the same series).

(2) *With auxiliary verbs*: II 132 14 "de cuya vista el leon acobardado no quiso *ni* osó salir de la jaula"; II 86 27 "no puedo *ni* debo sacar la espada"; I 426 25 "palabras que no han [sido] *ni* deben ser mentirosas" (though here it is not precisely an instance of two auxiliary verbs).⁹

(3) *With common subject infinitive*: I 513 10 "pero por parecerle no convenirle *ni* estarle bien comenzar nueva empresa"; I 537 8 "no te desmaye *ni* descontente ver llevar...á la flor de la caballería andante."

(4) *With two or more subjects*: II 281 12 "que no son todos los tiempos unos, *ni* están los hombres siempre de buen humor"; I 77 2 "mas al darle de beber no fué posible, *ni* lo fuera, si el ventero no horadara una caña."

(5) *With independent sentences*: II 160 24 "y yo no sé otras tologías. *Ni* las has menester, dijo D. Quijote"; II 211 17 "no es poco, dijo Sancho. *Ni* mucho, replicó el ventero."

B. nVA ncB nv: a compound sentence, each member having a subject and negative verb, and the connective *ni* instead of which one would expect *y* or else the suppression of *no* before the verb of the second member. Of these instances, I quote but one, as the others are given in ch. III, 3, F: II 378 23 "en efecto, señora...¿no os ha sucedido otro desman alguno, *ni* celos, como vos al principio de vuestro cuento dijistes, *no* os sacaron de vuestra casa?"

C. nA ncB nv: through inverted order, we have non-verbal

⁹Cf. for similar telescoping type F, I, 367, 21, and I, 535, 12.

negation in first term, negative connective with second term, followed by negated verb. Here again it is a question of pleonastic *no* if we view the construction with the strict logic required by modern grammar. Of this I find but one example,¹⁰ which is quoted by others: I 259 5 "habeisme de prometer de que con *ninguna* pregunta *ni* otra cosa *no* interromperéis el hilo de mi triste historia."

D. nvA ncB: verbal negation plus first term, negative conjunction plus second term. This arrangement I find to be the most characteristic, by far, of Cervantes, being even more frequent than type G. Here there occur no few instances of ellipsis of *ni* before intermediate terms. The appearance of the first term immediately after the negated verb, that is, the failure to use correlative *ni*'s, is but another evidence of the tendency toward nexal negation by negating the verb; and Rodríguez Marín shows that it is not due to any error, such as that suggested by certain editors.¹¹

(1) *With nouns or clauses*: I 426 3 "no te queda lugar *ni* acogida" (note that the verb is most often singular); I 275 22 "que no te igualó en ligereza el hipógrifo de Astolfo, *ni* el nombrado Frontino"; II 27 6 "y á mí se me trasluce que no ha de haber nacion *ni* lengua donde no se traduzga"; I 197 7 "que sea en parte donde no haya mantas, *ni* manteadores, *ni* fantasmas, *ni* moros encantados"; I 424 24 "al arrimo de quien no me han podido apartar vuestras importunaciones, vuestras amenazas, vuestras promesas *ni* vuestras dádivas" (with *ni* before last term only, as in the following); I 132 3 "no habia la fraude, el engaño *ni* la malicia mezcládose con la verdad y llaneza"; II 217 19 "pero vaya, pues cuando la cólera sale de madre, no tiene la lengua padre, ayo *ni* freno que la corrija"; II 217 16 "porque no tenia para qué retar á los muertos, á las aguas, *ni* á los panes, *ni* á los que estaban por nacer, *ni* á las otras menudencias."

(2) *With pronouns, adverbs, etc.*: I 357 31 "no será bien que yo *ni* otro por mí los descubra" (in a subordinate clause); I 416 27 "no pudo conseguir lo uno *ni* lo otro"; I 546 19 "y no tiene mas

¹⁰Cf. ch. III, 3, A.

¹¹Cf. Marín, V 417 10.

este que aquel *ni* estotro que el otro"; I 132 9 "porque entónces no habia que juzgar *ni* quien fuese juzgado"; II 125 13 "y no sé cuándo, *ni* adónde, *ni* en qué tiempo, *ni* en qué figuras me han de acometer"; I 504 21 "no sé con que intencion, *ni* cómo ha podido escaparse de su padre"; I 418 22 "no sabia qué pensar, qué decir *ni* qué hacer" (with ellipsis of *ni* before some of the terms).

(3) *With adjectives*: I 440 21 "porque no la [mesa] habia redonda *ni* cuadrada en la venta"; II 178 5 "porque no fué daga, *ni* pequeña, sino un puñal buido" (apparently a case of adjective and noun); I 288 7 "no se pudieron sacar en limpio *ni* enteros mas destas tres coplas" (connecting a phrase and an adjective); I 496 22 "no da indicios de ser arrogante *ni* desconocido, *ni* que no ha de saber poner los casos de la fortuna en su punto."

E. *nv ncA ncB*: verbal negation plus coördinate negation of all members. This *ni...ni* after verbal negation I find to be much rarer than the cases with ellipsis of *ni* before the first member: I 134 A 9 "abalánzase al señuelo— Mi fe, que nunca ha podido— *Ni* menguar por no llamado,— *Ni* crecer por escogido"; I 246 24 "Gines, que no era *ni* agradecido *ni* bien intencionado"; II 119 19 "pero no mantengo *ni* halcon *ni* galgos..."; II 257 27 "sabemos que no es menester *ni* mucha habilidad *ni* muchas letras para ser uno gobernador"; II 54 4 "y no la harán detener *ni* ruegos, *ni* fuerzas, *ni* ceptros, *ni* mitras"; I 377 36 "no has de quedar *ni* mas ufano, *ni* mas rico, *ni* mas honrado que estás ahora."

F. *ncv ncv*: coördinate clauses introduced by *ni*. This practice is very frequent, and ranks closely with *no...ni*. This correlative *ni* serves also to negative and connect two auxiliary verbs with common dependent infinitive. Rarely is there ellipsis with intermediate terms: II 119 30 "*ni* gusto de murmurar, *ni* consiento que delante de mí se murmure"; II 62 2 "que desnudo nací, desnudo me hallo, *ni* pierdo *ni* gano"; II 513 33 "que *ni* los he oido nombrar *ni* los he visto en toda mi vida"; I 159 25 "*ni* los buscará, servirá, conocerá *ni* seguirá en ninguna manera"; I 367 21 "para entretener á algunos que *ni* quieren, *ni* tienen, *ni* pueden trabajar" (with *tener* serving as auxiliary on the same footing as *querer* and *poder*); I 535 12 "pero *ni* entónces *ni* agora pude *ni* ví en quien tomar venganza de tu agravio" (with *ver* understood

after *pude* or else *tomar* is the common dependent infinitive of *pude* and *vi en quien*, a variant comparable to the construction employed in A. (2), third example, "que no han [sido] *ni* deben ser"); I 486 12 "esto dijo á tiempo que *ni* su padre la oia, *ni* nosotros ya la veíamos"; I 207 12 "y mas cuando vieron que *ni* los golpes cesaban, *ni* el viento dormia, *ni* la mañana llegaba."

G. ncvA ncvB: coördinate *ni*'s, the first being with the verb and constituting negative protraction, the second before the concept denied. We recall that in Spanish verbal negation is the rule, the verb and its object being taken as a nexal concept. This type of correlative negation is frequent. Rarely is there found ellipsis of *ni* before any other term than the first: II 49 9 "otros hay...que *ni* tuvieron principio bueno *ni* razonable medio"; I 52 15 "porque *ni* tengo qué acotar en el margen, *ni* qué anotar en el fin, *ni* ménos sé qué autores sigo en él"; II 256 24 "que aquel trigo *ni* era rubion *ni* trigo"; II 248 7 "que *ni* á él le faltarán imperios que mandar, *ni* á mí insulas que gobernar"; I 377 33 "*ni* te ha de alcanzar gloria de Dios, bienes de la fortuna, *ni* fama con los hombres" (with ellipsis before second term).

H. ncA ncB v: coördinate negation, with subject or object, plus common verb. This constitutes inversion for emphasis, an inversion which at times leads to the placing of *no* before the delayed verb: II 259 7 "porque *ni* él *ni* yo sabemos de achaque de burlas"; II 73 15 "*ni* yo *ni* mi amo la habemos visto jamas"; I 68 32 "le pareció que *ni* el Bucéfalo de Alejandro, *ni* Babieca el del Cid con él se igualaban"; II 118 9 "*ni* este caballero, *ni* esta lanza, *ni* este escudo, *ni* escudero, *ni* todas juntas estas armas, *ni* la amarillez de mi rostro, *ni* mi atenuada flaqueza os podrá admirar de aquí adelante."

I. A ncB v: negative connective not expressed until after the first member is enunciated. It is here that the subsequent *ni* serves as a negative looking in both directions, to negative that which precedes and to connect it with that which follows. It is possible that where one or more positive terms appear before the connective it is a question of *prosiopesis*.¹² At any rate there is ellipsis of an earlier *ni*, such as occurs in English "My father *nor*

¹²Cf. Jespersen, p. 6.

any one else can save you." But it must be observed that such connotative negatives as *punto*, *poco* and *todo* may contribute to the appearance of *ni*.¹³ It will be noted, too, that *ni* may be omitted after the first negative before one or more of the terms in series except the last. The following are all such instances that I find in the text, which, for completeness of treatment, I quote: I 182 20 "con tanta priesa que la *estera* de enea sobre quien se habia vuelto á echar, *ni* la manta de anejo con que se cubria, fuéron mas de provecho"; I 442 21 "bien como joya y prenda dada y dejada de tal mano, joya [la paz] que sin ella [,] en la *tierra ni* en el cielo puede haber bien alguno" (with Princeps showing comma, which Marín properly indicated in his edition);¹⁴ II 329 1 "que el necio en su *casa ni* en la ajena sabe nada"; II 275 34 "y asi dijo á la Duquesa, de quien un *punto ni* un paso se apartaba" (where the negative notion in *punto* may possibly contribute to the ellipsis, just as *en* may have affected it in the preceding examples); I 509 36 "que Rocinante *poco ni* mucho se movia"; II 479 7 "y mas viendo que en *todo* el aposento *ni* al derredor de la mesa *no* habia persona"; I 477 7 "todas las [veces] que quisieres podrás volver, respondió Agi Morato, que mi hija no dice esto[,] porque *tú ni* ninguno de los cristianos la enojaban, sino que por decir que los turcos se fuesen, dijo que tú te fueses" (which Weigert includes under *ni* connecting members of a positive subordinate clause through influence of the preceding negated verb;¹⁵ but I feel that it does not fall under that category, but rather that it is an independent parenthetical clause; for had *porque* introduced a restrictive clause as a denial of the cause of her saying it, *enojar* would have fallen into the imperfect subjunctive, thus to indicate the disclaimer;¹⁶ but the preservation of the indicative leads me to consider the clause one of direct denial in an independent clause, to wit: "My daughter does not mean that [neuter pronoun], for you *nor* any of the Christians annoyed her; but [to the contrary] intending to tell the Turks to go away, she told you to."

¹³Cf. ch. VI, 3, A, (2).

¹⁴Cf. Marín, III 171 5.

¹⁵Cf. Weigert, §13, (e).

¹⁶Cf. ch. II, 2, B, next to last example; Bello, §1133, "*no* porque se *aprobare* aquel arbitrio, lo adoptó la junta..."

J. A ncB nv: the same as the preceding case, except that the common verb bears the negation, constituting what would be a pleonasm in modern Spanish. It will be noticed that there is considerable matter interpolated between the first and second terms in some cases, which may contribute to the fact of additional strengthening, as well as the fact that the lengthy construction is preverbal. By putting the verb, which is short, before these subjects or objects, as is the rule in modern Spanish, the pleonasm would be avoided.¹⁷ Observe that most of the examples occur in strong, superlative declarations, which may in part account for any departure from the ordinary practice. In the last two examples, it seems that we have instances of pleonasm through *jamás*, for one can scarcely believe that Cervantes considered *jamás* anything but negative, despite its being a relatively recent addition to the Spanish negative: I 102 10 "que desde que Apolo fué Apolo, y las musas musas, y los poetas poetas, tan *gracioso ni* tan disparatado libro como ese *no* se ha compuesto"; I 410 3 "á lo que Leonela respondia, que ella *ni* aun burlando *no* sabia mentir" (where *ni aun burlando* is parenthetical, or inserted by way of strengthening of degree; yet it is perfectly regular, as shown in the following example from Palacio Valdés: "pero usted bien sabe que por ahora *ni* en mucho tiempo *no* hay que soñar con él");¹⁸ II 271 30 "que esas *cazas ni* cazos *no* dicen con mi condicion *ni* hacen con mi conciencia"; II 463 15 "pena no merecida *ni* debida á mis deseos[,] con los *cuales ni* con mis obras *jamás* quise *ni* pude ofenderte"; I 213 35 "y que tal modo de contarla *ni* dejarla *jamás* se podrá ver *ni* habrá visto en toda la vida" (where, rather than coördination, it is a question of an afterthought or parenthesis, such as that in I 410 3 above, constituting here a special negation of *dejar*, equivalent to "y nunca dejarla").

K. ncA ncB nv: coördinate negation plus verbal negation through *jamás*. I find but two examples of this phenomenon: II 529 21 "que las ociosas plumas, *ni* vencido *ni* vencedor, *jamás* dieron gusto á D. Quijote" (not strictly in point here, but which

¹⁷Cf. ch. III, 3, F, for the remaining examples.

¹⁸Palacio Valdés, *Marta y María*, op. cit., II, p. 20, l. 10.

is given here to show how parenthetical inserts are considered outside the primary frame of the sentence; hence the propriety of the subsequent negative); II 491 1 "*ni en la lengua ni en ella [leche] jamas, á mi parecer, dí señales de ser morisca.*"

2. *Connecting members of a dependent clause*— The force of the negative of the main proposition is at times sufficiently strong to lead the speaker to connect by means of *ni* the members of a positive dependent clause, where *y* or *o* might be expected. The members thus joined may be verbs, subjects, or objects. Of the following examples, Weigert quotes all but the last four of A below.¹⁹

A. *With relative clauses*: II 140 23 "no entiendo, respondió D. Quijote, lo que vuesa merced dice *ni* quiere decir en eso del deslizarme"; II 437 5 "con ella [libertad] no pueden igualarse los tesoros que encierra la tierra, *ni* el mar encubre"; II 508 6 "no es bien que este las [armas] escoja tales, que le impidan *ni* estorben el salir vencedor"; II 118 24 "no me puedo persuadir que haya hoy en la tierra quien favorezca viudas, ampare doncellas, *ni* honre casadas, *ni* socorra huérfanas"; I 306 26 "que no es mi pena de aquellas que puedan *ni* deban contarse sucintamente y de paso"; I 418 20 "volviéndose á su casa, no halló en ella ninguno de cuantos criados *ni* criadas tenia, sino la casa desierta y sola" (which, as in the following, shows *ni* connecting two nouns); II 257 2 "todo esto he dicho para que nadie repare en lo que Sancho dijo del cernido *ni* del aecho de Dulcinea."

B. *With other clauses*: I 393 10 "que la entereza de Camila no se rinde á cosas tan bajas como son dádivas *ni* promesas"; II 200 35 "D. Quijote no estaba muy contento con las adivinanzas del mono, por parecerle no ser á propósito que un mono adivinase *ni* las de porvenir *ni* las pasadas cosas"; II 498 9 "D. Antonio le respondió que ni sabia quién era, ni si era de burlas *ni* de véras el tal desafío" (in an alternative after an indirect question).

3. *With implied negation*— Just as the auxiliary negatives are found after words remotely or incompletely negative, so, too, *ni* appears. Weigert does not emphasize sufficiently the factors

¹⁹Cf. Weigert, §13, (d) and (e).

inducing this *ni*.²⁰ I shall treat, first, those instances that occur after words which connote negation, whether directly or indirectly; and, second, sentences that contain an implied negation, which structurally are positive, yet plainly imply negation.

A. *After words connoting negation*— I shall include here— though not strictly in point—certain words that are formally negative, though their identity may not at once be apparent. Weigert and Wiggers fail to differentiate them from the partial or connotative negatives.²¹

(1) *With certain special negatives*— The two examples with *enemigo* are quoted by others.²¹ The use is known to modern Spanish: *Marta y María* 278 29 “no soy más que una pobre niña incapaz de luchar ni de resistir...”²² Our text shows the following: I 113 6 “que yo de mio me soy pacífico y *enemigo* [not fond] de meterme en ruidos *ni* pendencias”; II 483 22 “*enemigo* siempre de premiar los floridos ingenios *ni* los loables trabajos”; II 122 11 “ni del ignorante vulgo, incapaz de conocer *ni* estimar los tesoros”; I 327 17 “y con poca vergüenza y ménos temor de Dios *ni* respeto mio, me refirió de amores” (where it is possible that *poco* may also tend to call out *ni*); I 278 18 “*en toda su vida* ha visto letra mia *ni* carta mia”; I 197 21 “porque *en toda mi vida* me han sacado diente *ni* muela de la boca”; II 195 30 “porque *en mi vida* he visto *ni* oído cosa mas propia.”

(2) *With connotative or approximate negatives*— Not infrequently there occurs a *ni* after certain words indirectly used instead of a corresponding opposite with expressed negation. Often these are of a privative or exclusive character or else they are approximately or remotely negative.²³ The commentators point out this *ni*, but they fail to indicate categorically the principles responsible for the several instances.²⁴ Llorens transcribes some examples in which he seems to think that *ni* is the correlative after positive concepts, and he erroneously dismisses them by terming

²⁰Cf. Weigert, §13.

²¹*Ibid.*, §13, (i); Wiggers, p. 195.

²²Palacio Valdés, *op. cit.*

²³Cf. ch. VI, 1, type I.

²⁴Cf. Díez, p. 1082, §10; Weigert, §13, (i); Wiggers, p. 195.

the use *ni* for *y no*.²⁵ A modern example of this *ni* after a connotative negative is that from *Marta y María*: 272 8 "*Lejos, pues, de sentir temor ni pesar por esto, crecieron sus ánimos.*"²⁶ Of the following examples, Weigert quotes the first with *dudar*, the first two with *dejar*, and the one with *difícultoso*: II 495 10 "*dudaron el General y el Virrey el fiarse del renegado, ni confiar de los cristianos*"; II 139 6 "*lo que yo quiero decir... es que dudo [no creo] que haya habido ni que los hay ahora caballeros andantes*"; I 184 12 "*y dejémonos [no tratemos más, no continuemos] de cuentos ni de caballerías*"; II 21 13 "*dejáos [no continuéis] de pretender ínsulas ni ínsulos*"; II 134 A 29 "*dejo [ya no me dedico, no prosigo, etc.] el bailar por tu causa,— Ni las músicas te pinto...*"; II 60 4 "*así lo creo...pero tengo por difíciloso [no fácil] que vuesa merced pueda hablarla ni verse con ella*"; I 224 8 "*porque pienso guardarme [no exponerme a] con todos mis cinco sentidos de ser ferido ni de ferir á nadie*"; I 513 15 "*durmiendo al lado de un mozo de mulas, bien descuidado [no pensando, sin cuidado] de que nadie ni le buscasse, ni ménos de que le hallasse*" (here it is scarcely *ni* that induces *ni*, for one might substitute a positive term and yet expect *ni*, such as "*descuidado de que su padre ni le buscasse...*"); I 185 29 "*mas todo aprovechaba poco, ni aprovechó hasta que de puro cansados le dejaron*"; II 270 12 "*y dice Cide Hamete que pocas veces vió a Sancho Panza sin ver al rucio, ni al rucio sin ver á Sancho*" (in which *ni* can scarcely be induced by *sin*, for in both instances of the use of *sin* here the phrases are subordinate to a negatived verb); II 351 12 "*iba á probarle Sancho; pero antes que llegase á él ni le gustase...*"; I 268 25 "*porque es muy gran blasfemia decir ni pensar que una reina esté amancebada con un clujano.*"

Somewhat greater variety is afforded by the other works compared: *Corb.* 132 1 "*todas estas cosas fallareys en los cofres de las mugeres: Horas de Santa Maria, syete salmos, estorias de santos, salterio en romance, nin verle del ojo; pero cançiones, dezires, coplas, cartas de enamorados e muchas otras locuras, esto sy*" (where *todas* seems closely akin to *ningunas*, for the first list of

²⁵Llorens, §101.

²⁶Palacio Valdés, *op. cit.*

items is of those excluded; those to be found are contained in the list introduced by *pero*, which is corroborated by *sí*; 303 15 “*pero* sabyendo la Pobreza que fuerça ynfingida muy *poco* presta *nin* vale” (and again, 194 14); *Laz.* 68 17 “y de quan *pocos* tenerte, *ny* aun oyr tu nombre”; *Cartas* 175 B 33 “y qué *poco* habia vuestra paternidad menester jurar, *ni* aun compo santo”; 260 A 8 “que es *poca* mortificacion leer necedades, *ni* poca prueba de la humildad”; *Amad.* 14 B 28 “que *poco* me contento deste lugar *ni* de los que en él son”; 111 A 9 “que muy *poco* fruto sacaron Mabilia *ni* la doncella” (and similarly: 129 A 7, 153 A 21, 162 B 25, 175 B 28, 287 B 10, 332 A 25); *Cifar* 173 6 “toma y muy *poco* trabajo el *nin* sus juezes de oyr pleitos”; *Patr.* 177 15 “y visto por él la *poca* razón que daba *ni* tenía”; *Cifar* 289 26 “deuedes vos *guardar* de dezir palabras torpes *nin* nesçias” (and similarly: 329 11, 329 14); *Luc.* 212 4 “et que vos *guarde* de fazer *nin* de dezir cosa”; *Cartas* 212 B 17 “ahora de tomarlo en boca se *guarden*, *ni* aun en el pensamiento si pueden”; 196 A 8 “¡Dios nos *libre*! *Ni* seria huir trabajos, sino meterse en ellos” (where it is possible that *ni* is called out by previous negatives); *Corb.* 230 23 “e *dexate* de tales cosas judgar, pedir *ni* demandar”; *Patr.* 85 1 “y que por tanto se *dejase* de hacer más extremos *ni* fatigarse”; *Luc.* 165 22 “et *ante* que huviase [pudiese, lograrse] folgar *nin* descansar, llegol’ mandado muy apresurado” (and again after temporal *ante*, 231 24, and *ante* of preference, 257 22); *Corb.* 160 20 “*antes* la podreis matar que fazer rendir *nin* pasar” (and *ante*, 176 5); *Amad.* 186 B 43 “*antes* dejaría toda la física, é pornia toda mi esperanza en Dios, que probar vuestra melecina *ni* letuario” (which, like the next, is of the preference type); 332 A 57 “y que creyese que *antes* que mengua *ni* daño recibiesen perderian las vidas”; 25 A 41 “é supo *antes* su hacienda que él *ni* su padre” (and similarly: 65 A 37, 335 B 61, 353 A 38); *Luc.* 217 5 “yo he muchos amigos que me dan a entender que por *miedo* de perder los cuerpos *nin* lo que an, que non dexarian de fazer lo que me cumpliese”; 218 9 “que por *miedo* de muerte *nin* [por] ningun rrecelo”; *Cartas* 264 B 17 “está gran negociador de su hacienda, y amigo de ella, con tanto *miedo* de tratar Descalzos *ni* Descalzas, que no creo nos querria ver”; 77 B 23 “mucho me *espanté*, que quisiese vuestra paternidad dejar en mí, *ni* hablar en

la ida de Malagon"; 2 A 35 "que por *maravilla* hay padre para hijo, *ni* hermano para hermano" (which, like the next following, is an instance of indirect doubt); *Patr.* 199 21 "*maravillado* estoy de ti, Tancredo, que antes que yo bien la quisiese tú la amases, *ni* que por tal respecto la hubieses tan solamente mirado"; *Corb.* 108 1 "por ende, visto el efecto que loco amor procura, e cuántos daptos trahe, *veamos*, pues, por quién nos condenamos, *nin* qué cosa son mugeres...*nyn*, finalmente, por cuál razon el ombre las deue bien querer" (an indirect question by way of warning similar to that commonly connoted by *mirar* and *dejar*); 322 21 "asy que *dura cosa* es a ninguno querer meterse mas adelante que non deue, *nin* querer saber mas que conviene" (constituting an instance of indirect denial, that is, of impossibility, here doing duty as mild prohibition); 257 14 "pues *loco* es el que a sygno *nin* planeta quiere atribuyr poderio, synon a solo Dios" (indirectly expressing imprudence or impropriety); *Amad.* 157 A 4 "en *balde* [inútil] se trabajaria el que pensase poner en vuestro gran corazon...pavor *ni* miedo"; 385 B 59 "*en vano* [inútil] se trabajará el caballero que esta espada de aquí quisiere sacar por valentía *ni* fuerza"; 212 A 24 "pero, téngome por *mal aventurado* de ser quejosos de mí contra razon, *ni* mi pensamiento es sino de servir á todos" (where *mal*, a common substitute for negation, renders the predicate negative); *Luc.* 283 29 "parad mientes si faze muy *desaguisado* en tomar en si sobervia *nin* loçania desaguisada" (another instance of *moralische Verneinung*, as is the following example); 68 18 "fasiasele muy grand *verguença* de demandar *nin* envergonnarse a ninguno"; *Cifar* 22 20 "ca muy *fea* e muy *crua* cosa seria, e *contra natura*, querer el ome comer carne de ome, *nin* avn con fanbre" (an indirect prohibition, this time by means of three such connotative terms); *Laz.* 34 6 "despues desto, consideraue aquel *tener cerrada* la puerta con llaue, *ni* sentir arriba ni abaxo passos de biua persona por la casa" (with exclusion indirectly expressed in *tener cerrada*, etc.).

Of interest are the following examples of *ni* in clauses of concession, a use not to be met with in the other works. One has

but to compare a parallel use found in Old French.²⁷ One readily feels the kinship between concession and condition: *Corb.* 61 2 "e avnque se cubra de paño de oro *nin* se arree como emperador, no le está lo que trahe synon como cosa emprestada"; 171 24 "mas porque sepan que *por mucho que* ellos *nin* ellas encobyerto lo fagan e fazen."

B. *In sentences implying negation*— In ch. I we have seen how negation is often implied in certain types of independent sentences whose form is per se positive. Similarly we find *ni* employed in such sentences to connect independent clauses or appearing between terms in subordinate clauses depending on such. Of this use there may be distinguished some three or four distinct types: questions, conditions, relative clauses of prohibition, and comparisons or superlative sentences, in which today we should expect *y* or *o*.

(1) *In questions*— The grammarians have not failed to call attention to the *ni* that appears in certain questions.²⁸ With exception of the first three examples below, Weigert has included all the instances that appear in our text, to which I shall refer by number only: I 529 6 "¿qué caballero andante pagó pecho, alcabala, chapin de la reina, moneda forera, portazgo, *ni* barca?"; I 529 13 "y finalmente, ¿qué caballero andante ha habido, hay *ni* habrá en el mundo, que no tenga brios...?"; I 407 16 "cuándo tus muchas promesas y mayores dádivas fuéron de mí creidas *ni* admitidas?"²⁹ (and similarly: II 359 7, I 445 33, I 286 25, II 245 31, II 148 13, I 124 34, II 245 33, II 520 26, I 413 28, II 406 37, II 545 24, I 529 2, I 262 11).

To be sure, affirmative questions with negative implication occur with *o* or *y* as connectives. The example quoted is interesting because of its use of all three connectives: II 16 31 "¿quién mas honesto *y* mas valiente que el famoso Amadis de Gaula...Quién mas acuchillado *ni* acuchillador que D. Belianis? Quién mas intrépido

²⁷Cf. Oliver M. Johnston, "The Irrational *ne* in Concessive Clauses in French," in *Romanic Review*, VIII, 1917.

²⁸Cf. Diez, p. 1082; Bello, §1151; Weigert, §13, (f) and (g); Wiggers, §55, 2, c; Llorens, pp. 148-149.

²⁹Quoted by Wiggers, Cf. note 28.

que Perion de Gaula, ó quién mas acometedor de peligros que Felixmarte de Hircania, ó quién mas sincero que Esplandian..., quién mas invencible que Roldan, y quién mas gallardo y mas cortés que Rugero...?" (and also with *o* or *y*, I 280 24, 154 6, 188 7, 347 31, 375 21, II 130 6).

The other works examined do not make such extensive use of the phenomenon, although where employed the practice is identical to that of the *Quijote*. The distribution is as follows: *Cel.* 171 4 (rare); *Corb.* 215 14, 329 7 (few); *Amad.* 13 B 7, 14 A 7 (somewhat frequent); *Cifar* 389 4 (rare); *Patr.* 193 11 (rare).

Observe the use in an indirect question from the *Corb.*: 223 26 "pues *vean* los que aman *sy* estos tales que tales viçios han, deuen amar *ni* ser amados" (with the prohibition couched in *vean*).

(2) *In conditions and kindred constructions*— A very forceful though indirect manner of denying is accomplished by means of a condition followed by a conclusion considered untenable. The apodosis often is couched in a punitive wish, a threat of bodily hurt either to the speaker himself or to another, or else it predicates some other result that the speaker considers impossible or unlikely of fulfilment or the truth of which is doubted, hence the extreme terms of the apodosis.³⁰ So strong is the negation implied, that the speaker anticipates it, mentally assuming it. Closely akin to this indirect way of denying through a protasis with *si* is the construction in which the protasis is rendered by the relative clause,³¹ with the terms connected by *ni* in anticipation of the prohibition connoted by the main clause. Diez clearly sees the indirect prohibition in such sentences for Provençal and terms it *moralische Verneinung*.³² Meyer-Lübke, in his examples (chiefly from the other languages), fails to recognize the indirect negative, and deems the *ni* a peculiar connective of synonymous terms.³³ It is scarcely the occurrence of synonyms that evokes the negative connective, but rather the denial, disapproval, or prohibition of the subsequent member, which is anticipated by the speaker; for

³⁰Cf. ch. I, 4.

³¹Cf. chs. I, 4; V, I, C, §2; V, 4, E; *Grail*, II, 187.

³²Cf. Diez, p. 1083.

³³Cf. Meyer-Lübke, III, §§211, 213.

example, in the passages quoted by Meyer-Lübke: "*coisona mult durement*"; "quar l'apellatz camiaritz *ni* leugeira...?" (in a question implying disapproval); "ben aia·l maire que·us portet e que·us noirit *ni*·us allaitet" (in an exclamatory superlative); "*ved* el curso á que es tomado *nin* los fechos commo van" (a warning or prohibition similar to that connoted by *veamos* in *Corb.* 108 1);³⁴ "feis le tu por mal de moi, Por haine *ni* por despit?" (in a question implying doubt); "revelar sa riqueza *ni* sos gazanhs *folia* es" (a restriction lying in *folia* es); "e cel que los a mortz *ni* brizatz *ni* crui-chitz Ja no *deu tenir terra*" (with a similar restriction or prohibition).³⁵ Llorens also fails to sense the indirect prohibition in his example from *F. Juzgo*, that is, the punitive restriction denoted by *sufran*.³⁶ García de Diego appreciates this indirect negation for *nadie*, *nada*, and *ninguno*, but, like Llorens, he incorrectly emphasizes the principle of indefiniteness.³⁷ Compare Weigert and Wiggers for all but the third and fourth examples below.³⁷ Note that the force of the implied negation extends even to members of a clause subordinate to the relative clause: I 224 5 "*pero si* yo le [brebaje] hiciere *ni* le probare mas en mi vida, *aquí sea mi hora*"; II 224 13 "*y si* hallares que algun escudero haya dicho *ni* pensado lo que aquí has dicho, quiero que me le *claves en la frente*"; I 63 9 "*y si* la vuesa linda Dulcinea— Desaguisado contra vos comete,— *Ni* á vuestas cuitas muestra buen talante.— En tal *desman vueso conhorto* sea— Que Sancho Panza fué mal alcaguete,— Necio él, dura ella, y vos no amante"; I 405 34 "Lotario, advierte lo que te digo: si á dicha te atrevieres á pasar desta raya que ves, *ni* aun llegar á ella, en el punto que viere que lo intentas, en ese mismo *me pasaré el pecho con esta daga*"; II 258 28 "*y el que* se llegare á lavarme *ni* á tocarme á un pelo de la cabeza...*le dará tal puñada* que le deje el puño engastado en los cascos"; II 452 29 "*quien quie-ra* que dijere que D. Quijote de la Mancha ha olvidado *ni* puede olvidar á Dulcinea del Toboso, yo le *haré entender* con armas iguales que va muy léjos de la verdad"; II 397 33 "*puso gravísimas*

³⁴Cf. 3, A, (2), second paragraph.

³⁵Cf. Llorens, p. 148.

³⁶Cf. García de Diego, p. 285.

³⁷Cf. Weigert, §13, (h); Wiggers, §55, 2, c.

penas á los que cantasen cantares lascivos y descompuestos, ni de noche ni de dia."

Interesting examples of this indirect manner of denying, warning, or prohibiting are the following: *Cel.* 109 30 "*mal me haga Dios si ella lo es, ni tiene parte dello*"; *Cartas* 146 B 26 "*que si se mete en contradecir á la presidente, ni en cosa que se haga en casa, y yo lo sé, que la costará muy caro*"; *Cifar* 509 14 "*e asy el que quiere las graçias e las merçedes de los señores desfazer e yr contra ellas en dicho nin en fecho nin en consejo. deue ser des-amado de Dios*"; *Amad.* 31 A 39 "*mal haya quien espuelas calzase, ni arnés vistiese por ganar honra della*"; 155 B 32 "*Dios no me salve, señora, si mas de su nombre ni sé quién ella es*"; *Luc.* 156 9 "*si yo tal cosa fiziese seervos ya muy falso amigo...et ternia que fazia muy grand maldat si yo consintiese su mal nin su muerte*"; 157 19 "*prometo que, si poco nin mas connigo porfias que eso mismo fare a ti que al perro*" (*eso mismo* = *hacer pedazos*); *Corb.* 148 1 "*si tal cosa fize nin tal cosa dixe ni por mi boca salió, quemada me vea, amen*"; 270 16 "*por la pasyon de Ihu. Xpo...nin para el gusto de la muerte...e asy salue Dios esta alma pecadora...Señor, que non ay mas desto que vedes*"; 99 1 "*pero ¡guay de aquel que tal comete, nin tal dinero da por tal mercaderia! E ¡guay de aquel que tal tracto faze. nin tal libramiento nin mercaderia trahe, nin tal consyente...*"; 101 1 "*¡...maldito sea... quien en poderio de otro su postrimera voluntad jamas dexare nin tal poderio loco diere!*" 287 24 "*¡guay de los desauenturados que a ti esperan nin esperançã en ti tienen...!*"; 33 13 "*e sy de su amor le fablan dyas nin noches, non se enojaria avnque la noche toda non durmiese.*"

(3) *In comparative and superlative sentences*— In the same way as pleonastic *no* and the auxiliary negatives are induced after comparative and superlative expressions,³⁸ so, too, *ni* is found.³⁹ I find no reason for differentiating between the comparative and superlative. To the ten examples quoted by others (I 391 31, I 498 8, I 93 26, II 5 15, II 26 30, II 144 31, II 175 17, II 176 28, II 255 17, II 295 1) I add: I 256 25 "*pero hízolo mejor la suerte de*

³⁸Cf. chs. III and V.

³⁹Cf. Diez, p. 1082; Meyer-Lübke, §214; Wiggers, §55, 2, c; Weigert, §13, (b) and (c); Llorens, §125.

lo que él pensaba *ni* esperaba"; I 273 24 "que tienes el *mas* corto entendimiento que tiene *ni* tuvo escudero en el mundo"; II 198 18 "trae asimismo consigo un mono de la *mas* rara habilidad que se vió entre monos, *ni* se imaginó entre hombres"; II 409 34 "*mejor* se me entiende á mí de arar y cavar...que de dar leyes, *ni* de defender provincias *ni* reinos."

Nothing would be gained by quoting similar examples from the other texts compared; therefore, I shall only indicate the distribution there: *Cel.*, fairly common (7 25, 89 25, 156 4, 162 17, 1 6); *Laz.*, rare (55 1); *Cartas*, rare (111 B 5, 222 A 9); *Corb.*, rare (11 12); *Cifar*, rare (366 24); *Luc.*, rare (201 1, 254 21, 262 13); *Amad.*, the rule (10 A 55, 36 B 39, 61 B 12, 77 B 1, 79 B 7, 84 A 44, 108 A 30, 116 B 30, 167 A 12, 210 A 32, 265 A 18).

(4) *In ironical or exclamatory sentences*— *Ni* is at times found in expressions of an ironical or exclamatory nature. The exclamation is most often in the form of an imprecation: II 217 25 "porque *bueno seria* que se matasen á cada paso los del pueblo de la reloja...*ni* los cazoleros...*ni* los de otros nombres y apellidos"; I 193 1 "*encomiendo al diablo* [ningún] hombre *ni* gigante *ni* caballero de cuantos vuestra merced dice parece por todo esto" (where the editor's comma after *diablo* obscures the reading and destroys the force of the oath, which is equivalent to some such adjective as *ninguno*, similar to that in other passages,⁴⁰ and rightly understood by Marín);⁴¹ II 310 16 "y que *sabe Dios* cuándo volverémos dél, *ni* la comodidad y espacio..."; *Laz.* 47 17 "*maldito* el gusto [ningún gusto] yo tomaua en ello, *ni* en aquellos tres dias torne en mi color."

(5) *In repugnant comparisons*— In the same manner as negation is implied by the use of a sentence containing a repugnant comparison,⁴² *ni* is occasionally found connecting the members of a clause introduced by *así*, with the second proposition introduced by *como*, the whole constituting a kind of comparative syllogism, the erroneousness of which is apparent. This is an indirect and forceful way of denying, refusing, doubting, or prohibiting. The

⁴⁰Cf. ch. I, 3, B, first example; ch. V, 9, ex: I 538 5.

⁴¹Cf. Marín II 52 13.

⁴²Cf. ch. I, 2.

first three examples are quoted by Weigert,⁴³ to which I add the last two: II 333 10 "*así* entrarán [no entrarán] ellas en mi aposento, *ni* cosa que lo parezca *como* [como no pueden] volar"; II 410 27 "por Dios, que *así* me quede en este *ni* admita otro gobierno, aunque me le diesen entre dos platos, *como* volar al cielo sin alas"; II 524 14 "voto á tal, *así* me deje yo sellar el rostro *ni* manosear la cara *como* volverme moro"; I 265 15 "pues en oyendo cosas de caballerías y de caballeros andantes, *así* es en mi mano dejar de hablar en ellos, *como* lo es en la de los rayos del sol dejar de calentar, *ni* humedecer en los de la luna" ("It is as much in my power to refrain from talking of them as it is in the rays of the sun not to heat, or in those of the moon not to give off moisture"); II 305 14 "pero pensar que tengo de subir en él, *ni* en la silla *ni* en las ancas, es *pedir peras al olmo*" (which, even without the formula *así como*, posits an absurdity).

4. *Miscellaneous uses*— Before concluding this chapter, it is well to note some special uses of *ni* and those in which it is rendered by *y* or *o*. Here, too, I shall treat certain formulae in which *ni* appears.

A. *Sin...o*— Though *ni* is usually found after the pure negative *sin*,⁴⁴ at times other connectives are found: I 309 2 "*sin* respeto ó miedo de ser escuchado *ni* conocido" (where *o* is used probably because of the synonymous or alternative nature of the terms, while *ni* after *escuchado* indicates the disjunctive relationship between the two participles); I 154 36 "ofreceré á los vientos cuerpo y alma— *Sin* lauro o palma de futuros bienes" (where it seems to be a pure disjunctive).

B. *Sin...y*— Somewhat rare in the text is an *y* after *sin*, a use which is not permitted today, as Marín points out, quoting the first three examples below:⁴⁵ I 57 19 "*sin* intricarlos *y* escurecerlos" (discussed by García de Diego);⁴⁶ II 440 2 "della habemos salido *sin* palo *y* sobresalto"; II 448 28 "*sin* jáquima *y* freno"; I 80 11 "*sin* dineros *y* sin las prevenciones referidas" (in which *y sin* is used for

⁴³Cf. Weigert, §13, (i).

⁴⁴Cf. ch. III, 7, for absolute negative *sin*.

⁴⁵Cf. Marín, I 43 15.

⁴⁶Cf. García de Diego, p. 230.

ni, as in the following); I 81 24 "*sin* hablar D. Quijote palabra *y sin* pedir favor á nadie"; II 136 21 "*sin* almidon *y sin* randas."

Closely related to this use of *y* after *sin* is that in which, as in case of *o* above, it appears that *y* may join approximate synonyms: II 474 36 "agora... que estoy enterado que no nos oye *y* escucha alguno..."; II 170 2 "pero no hay cosa donde no pique *y* deje de meter su cucharada" (an instance of one negative being restricted by another, and the meaning is: "In all things he pecks and puts in his spoon," hence the positive connective).

C. *Sin...ni sin*— I find one instance of *ni sin* where *y sin* would be expected today, as noted by Marín:⁴⁷ I 353 11 "*sin* comer pan á manteles *ni sin* peinarse la barba."

D. *Ni...si...o*— Somewhat rare in the text is coördinate negation through *ni...o*. Here the main verb is especially negated by *ni*, followed by a clause of alternative introduced by *si* [whether]. All the examples that I find show *saber* as the main verb: I 168 32 "y uno destos fué Amadis, cuando llamándose Bel-tenebros se alojó en la Peña Pobre, *ni sé si* ocho años ó ocho meses"; I 323 22 "en efecto, él se fué, y yo quedé *ni sé si* triste ó alegre"; I 327 24 "con mis pocas fuerzas y con poco trabajo dí con él por un derrumbadero, donde le dejé *ni sé si* muerto ó si vivo"; II 556 10 "*ni sé si* bien cortada ó mal tajada"; I 497 31 "de los cuales no habia sabido en qué habian parado, *ni si* habian llegado á España, ó llevádoslos los franceses á Francia."

E. *In certain formulae after "sin"*: I 285 5 "y luego *sin mas ni mas* dió dos zapatadas en el aire"; I 104 17 "dejar tan *sin mas ni mas* llevar la victoria de este torneo"; I 283 27 "¿dónde se ha de sufrir que un caballero andante tan famoso como vuestra merced se vuelva loco *sin qué ni para qué* por una...?"; II 41 34 "¿por qué quieres tú ahora *sin qué ni para qué* estorbarme...?"; I 522 20 "y anoche estuve colgado deste brazo casi dos horas, *sin saber cómo ni cómo no*, vine á caer en aquella desgracia"; II 320 21 "y llega otro, y *sin saber cómo ni cómo no*, se halla con el cargo y oficio";

⁴⁷Cf. Marín, II 470 1.

II 364 7 "que empobrecieron antes de tiempo *sin* saber *cómo ni cómo no*" (and again, I 253 13); I 319 32 "*sin* saber *ni* imaginar *cómo*" (with second member lacking); I 446 35 "y que *sin* saber *cómo ó por dónde*" (showing *o* for *ni*).

F. "*Ni*" of emphasis— At times *ni* (a continuative or resumptive) is used to enhance the exclusion of some member. Nearly always it is accompanied by some such term as *aun*, *siquiera*, *tampoco*, or by a preposition, such as *con* or *por*,⁴⁸ connoting English *not even*. However, *aun no* is found: I 145 1 "y tengo para mí que *aun* la de los frailes cartujos *no* es tan estrecha"; I 131 18 "*aun no* se habia atrevido la pesada reja..." This corroborative *ni* is not frequent as an unaccompanied negative of the concept, but it is usually found in combination with some such terms as *aun*, *tampoco*, or *menos*. Rarely does *siquiera* occur with it. In at least two instances *y ni* is met with, where *y...y* forms a kind of copulative coördination in which *y* seems to have the value almost of a causal conjunction *pues*. The *y* before *ni* as shown in the present edition, I 451 12, is erroneously inserted, since the Princeps does not read thus and *y* would vitiate the sense. The use with *aun* is probably the most usual manner of expressing English *not even*, *nor even*, and, like *ni* alone, it may occur initially, medially, or finally. Similarly the reinforcement is through *por pienso* or *por pensamiento*, the former being more frequent. This formula is equivalent to English *by no means*, *not for the world*, or the like. The resumptive strengthening through *ni menos* is comparable to that effected by means of *cuanto más*⁴⁹ and *no que*,⁵⁰ and translates English *nor even*, *much less*, *not to speak of*. For the use of *ni* with *tampoco*, compare ch. V, 13: II 127 27 "cuanto mas que estos leones no vienen contra vuesa merced, *ni* [nor even] lo sueñan"; I 73 18 "no me deja mi amo *ni* un bocado"; II 229 20 "no hemos llegado adonde vuesa merced dice *ni* [not, not even] con muchas leguas"; I 344 8 "porque jamas me ha pasado por el pensamiento casarme con aquel gigante, pero *ni* con otro

⁴⁸Cf. Cej., p. 384, §1, for *ni aun* only; García de Diego, p. 283, l. 15; Llorens, §§56, 110.

⁴⁹Cf. ch. I, 10.

⁵⁰Cf. ch. II, 1, G.

alguno por grande y desaforado que fuese" (with additional reinforcement through the colloquial conjunction *pero*, which Marín amply documents);⁵¹ I 281 9 "y pítola en mi imaginacion como la deseo...y *ni* la llega Elena, *ni* la alcanza Lucrecia, *ni* otra alguna"; I 50 29 "*y ni* eres su pariente *ni* su amigo, y tienes tu alma en tu cuerpo"; I 529 26 "por esta vez no le habeis de llevar, *ni aun* él dejara llevarse"; I 99 6 "mas no le entiendo. *Ni aun* fuera bien que vos le entendiérades..."; I 133 32 "yo sé, Olalla, que me adoraras,— Puesto que no me lo has dicho— *Ni aun* con los ojos *siquiera*"; I 193 25 "*ni por* esas volvió D. Quijote" (where *ni por* exemplifies the phenomenon of rejected cause as does *no por*);⁵² I 347 8 "no es posible que yo arrostre *ni por pienso* el casarme"; I 222 3 "ya os he dicho, hermano, que no me menteis *ni por pienso* mas eso de los batanes"; II 104 14 "pero con los escuderos...*ni por pienso*" (with the absolute use, as in I 86 27, II 285 8, I 419 15); II 137 19 "poeta bien podrá ser...pero grande, *ni por pensamiento*" (and as absolute, II 1 24); I 187 7 "no me fué posible subir por ellas, *ni ménos* pude apearne"; I 420 27 "no quiso salir del monesterio, *ni ménos* hacer profesión de monja"; I 565 16 "en lo que hubo Cid no hay duda, *ni ménos* Bernardo del Carpio."

⁵¹Cf. Marín, II 447 1.

⁵²Cf. ch. II, 2, B.

CHAPTER VII

SINO

Weigert has furnished a good treatment of *sino*, together with bibliography bearing on the scant mention made of it by others.¹ I find it necessary to make some additions, however, especially where he, as is his custom, fails to organize certain uses, and I shall give further examples from the *Quijote* where those quoted by him seem meager. For a good treatment of *sino* in the older literature, one may consult Llorens.²

1. *Nature of adversative "sino"*— Weigert points out that the original meaning of *sino*, equivalent to Latin *nisi*, to introduce an exception to the main predicate had been almost lost by the time of Cervantes, the meaning *but*, Latin *sed*, having attained to its present status.³ He refers to this use as one occasioned by a mistake in logic, similar to that referred to by Jespersen.⁴ who says, however, that the positive counterpart of the first term must be understood, and that only the hypercritical grammarian can object to the construction. A much more plausible explanation is, I feel, that it is a question of the ellipsis of the main verb, such as that suggested by the Academy Grammar.⁵ which must be understood as being affirmatively repeated in the second member, and the need for understanding *only* or *merely*, as suggested by Weigert, is abrogated by the restoration of the verb. Here, then, the meaning *but only* is not necessary, but rather that of *but instead*. In other words, the *no* with the main verb constitutes negation of the nexus and not of a special genus, and the second clause, introduced by *sino*, constitutes an affirmative substitute for the first. For instance, quoting an example adduced by Weigert, 429 b "no sabe

¹Cf. Weigert, §14.

²Cf. Llorens, pp. 152 ff.

³Weigert, §14, (c).

⁴Cf. Jespersen, p. 59.

⁵Cf. *Gram. Acad.*, §342, (b).

hacer mal a nadie, *sino* bien a todos," there is readily seen the contrast effected by denying the expected and affirming the contrary, which, put affirmatively, would be, "hace bien a todos y [contrary to the expected] mal a nadie." I add the following examples in support of the assumption that *sino* introduces as a positive substitute a concept expressing the exact opposite of that contained in the main negative clause: I 68 18 "y era que no tenian celada de encaje [something expected], *sino* [but they did have] morrion simple"; I 90 18 "no le mana, digo, eso que decís [something disagreeable], *sino* [to the contrary] ámbar y algalia"; I 127 8 "que por todos estos caminos no andan hombres armados [war-like persons], *sino* arrieros y carreteros [peaceable folk]"; I 253 7 "no hemos topado á nadie [no person]...*sino* á un cojín y á una maletila" (things as substitute for individuals); I 418 20 "volviéndose á su casa, no halló en ella ninguno de cuantos criados ni criadas tenia, *sino* la casa desierta y sola"; II 177 17 "no traia arma ninguna, *sino* un rosario de cuentas"; I 183 33 "que no es castillo *sino* venta."

The following show even more clearly this contraposition of the two concepts, the substitutional function of the second constituting a categoric denial of the first, the notion being plainly *but to the contrary*. Observe that very often the second clause is in the imperative: I 90 33 "que no por culpa mia, *sino* de mi caballo estoy aquí tendido"; I 243 4 "porque no podemos ir juntos por los caminos, *sino* solos y divididos"; I 556 10 "y verá como no va encantado, *sino* trastornado el juicio"; II 183 26 "yo no creo que mi señor miente, respondió Sancho. *Sino* ¿qué crees? respondió D. Quijote" (where, following the Princeps, I write as one word, and not *si no* as the edition reads, for, as Marín suggests,⁶ it is rather an instance of the adversative *sino*, an excellent example of the actual retention of the main verb, the continuation being made by the second speaker, who indicates that the other had intended to say, "no creo...*sino* que aquel Merlín, etc.," or something of the kind); I 397 22 "no te asalten la imaginacion esos escrupulosos...*sino* asegúrate que Lotario te estima" (and also with

⁶Cf. Marín, IV 478 13.

imperative, I 168 20, 305 8, 393 17; II 206 8, 446 27); I 245 28 "así que, no se arrepienta de haber tomado mi consejo, *sino* suba en Rocinante" (and similarly with the subjunctive, I 357 21, 361 30, 412 12, II 52 24, 76 20, 553 30, 553 34); I 211 13 "y no vaya á buscar el mal á ninguna parte, *sino que* nos volvamos por el otro camino" (the only instance of the use of first plural in which the conjunction *que* is felt necessary).

2. "*No...sino*" for "*only*"— Weigert does not give sufficient examples⁷ to show how *no...sino* is as much a formula as *no más* to express the restriction only.⁸ He does show how it may be joined with the verb in certain specialized uses, such as *no parecer sino que* and *no hacer sino* plus verb; but he fails to point out how the same formula, *no...sino* (*sino* in its primitive sense, *si no*), restricts other speech members. Here again it is a question of ellipsis, in this instance, of the term to which exception is made, often equivalent to *nada*, *nadie*, or the like: I 539 16 "y verás cómo *no* tienen [nada] *sino* cuerpo de aire, y cómo *no* consisten mas de en la apariencia" (showing the alternate use with *no más*); I 462 6 "pues las muestras de *no* haber querido soltar la caña [a nadie] *sino* á mí"; I 550 27 "*no* sirven [para nada, nadie] *sino* para cuatro discretos que las entienden"; I 52 30 "eso fuera si mi amo no hubiera de las muelas, pero *no* lo ha *sino* de los cascos"; II 145 1 "preguntóle D. Quijote si eran [las bodas] de algun príncipe, que así las ponderaba. *No* son, respondió el estudiante, *sino* de un labrador" (the parenthetical matter making it difficult to determine whether there should be a pause after *son*, with the pronominal predicative *lo* understood, with *sino* equal to *sed*, or to *no son sino* meaning only).

3. "*Si no*" concessive— Weigert transcribes several examples in which *sino*, or *si no*, partakes of the nature of a concessive which vacillates between this and its original conditional sense.⁹ Compare also Bello and Cejador.¹⁰ As Weigert registers no instance in the *Quijote*, I quote the following: II 135 10 "donde descansará

⁷Cf. Weigert, §14, (a).

⁸Cf. ch. II, 1, K.

⁹Cf. Weigert, §14, (e).

¹⁰Cf. Bello, §1282; Cejador, §261, 2.

vuesa merced del pasado trabajo, que *si no* ha sido del cuerpo, ha sido del espíritu"; II 276 18 "brillando por todos ellos infinitas hojas de argenteria de oro, que la hacian, *si no* rica, á lo ménos vistosamente vestida"; I 73 10 "que fué como si viera una estrella que á los portales, *si no* á los alcázares de su redencion, le enca-minaba."

4. *Sino es*— Since Weigert transcribes from the *Quijote* but one example of *sino* plus a form of *ser* with the force of a conditional conjunction,¹¹ I judge it not amiss to add others with especial view to show the tense correspondence between the form of *ser* and the main verb, which, however, at times is not observed. Note, too, that almost any speech member may follow this compound conjunction and that such member is not necessarily the subject of *ser*: I 471 28 "porque las moras no se dejan ver de ningun moro ni turco, *si no es* que su marido ó su padre se lo manden"; II 369 7 "que los jueces son de carne y de hueso, y han de dar á la naturaleza lo que naturalmente les pide, *sino es* yo, que no le doy de comer á la mia"; II 397 7 "pero no sé qué envíe, *si no es* algunos cañutos de jeringas"; II 266 16 "y los tales no pueden mentir *sino es* cuando se les antoja"; I 515 4 "esto no hareis vosotros...*sino es* llevándome muerto" (and thus very often with the present of *ser*); II 223 3 "en la cual no he dormido despues que há que sirvo á vuesa merced, *sino ha sido* el tiempo breve" (a tense rarely found); II 350 10 "a todo esto no respondió D. Quijote otra palabra *sino fué* dar un profundo suspiro"; I 92 17 "y así no le respondió otra cosa *sino fué* proseguir en su romance"; II 375 31 "apartáronse todos, *si no fuéron* el mayordomo, maestresala y el secretario" (and also with the preterit, I 323 32, II 412 29); I 504 2 "y así lo dejé estar sin dalle otro favor *sino era*...alzar un poco el lienzo"; I 285 25 "y no le podia matar nadie *si no era* metiéndole un alfiler"; I 314 3 "que *si no eran* los piés, ninguna otra cosa de su cuerpo se parecia" (and also with the imperfect, I 119 2, 128 2, II 174 6, 748 30); I 166 9 "y *sino fuese* porque imagino..."; I 472 18 "y estos no se hallaran *si no fuera* que su amo se quedó..."; I 402 9 "que no hay mas que

¹¹Weigert, §14, (f).

guardar, *si no fuere responderme*" (and similarly with the future subjunctive, I 220 22, II 105 24).

5. "*Sino*" pleonastic— Just as in English we often hear, "I do not doubt (or deny) but that he will come," in which *but* is unnecessary to a complete understanding of the sentence,¹² so, too, in Spanish *sino* seems to be superfluous after *no dudar*, *no hay duda*, *no puede ser menos*, etc., that is. after expressions of negative doubt or possibility, which probably result from a mixing of such expressions as *dudo que*, *no dudo que*, *no creo que*, *no parece sino que*, *no creo otra cosa más que*, and *no puede ser sino que*, as Weigert points out.¹³ Let us recall in this connection the pleonastic *no* after similar verbs.¹⁴ Marín points out the necessity for a comma after *dudar*, especially if the case be one of interrogation, and considers the construction of an adversative nature rather than subordinate and pleonastic.¹⁵ In fact, the *Princeps* shows a comma in all but one instance (the first below), and in that one there appears to be a wild comma after *Adán*, which was probably intended for position before *sino*. The restored commas I enclose in brackets. Though doubtlessly a mixing or crossing of constructions operates here, it seems to me that the ever-present principle of ellipsis is again playing a part; that is, that *sino* really introduces an adversative, not an objective clause, in which some positive equivalent of the main verb, such as *creer*, is understood after *sino*; for example, "I do not doubt, but [rather do I believe] that he will come." I feel a sharp distinction between "I do not doubt that he will come" and "I do not doubt but that he will come." To me the latter connotes, "I do not doubt at all (as seems natural, or as others may doubt), but (to the contrary I think it very likely) that he will come." Compare the exposition by Jespersen for similar substitutions of the affirmative equivalent after *but*.¹⁶ Garcés terms the construction, but without explanation, "*modos de hablar que tocan á certidumbre ó aseveración.*"¹⁷ One

¹²Cf. Jespersen, pp. 130-131.

¹³Cf. Weigert, §14, (i).

¹⁴Cf. ch. III, 1.

¹⁵Cf. Marín I, 108 11, citing García de Diego and Padre Juan Mir.

¹⁶Cf. Jespersen, p. 131, particularly l. 12.

¹⁷Cf. Garcés, I, p. 303.

cannot stress too much here the operation of the principles of ellipsis and parataxis, which must have given rise to this apparent pleonasm, for, by reading into the construction the affirmative equivalent of the main verb and understanding a break before *sino*, the difficulty entirely disappears. Of the following examples, the first eight are transcribed from Weigert for completeness; the last two I add: II 72 5 "porque Adan no hay duda *sino* [al contrario es verdad] que tuvo cabeza y cabellos"; I 522 34 "no hay duda, respondió a esto D. Fernando, *sino* [al contrario bien se ve] que el señor D. Quijote ha dicho muy bien hoy" (and similar substitutions render all the examples plainly adversative, and not exceptive with *sino* pleonastic); I 145 27 "porque no hay duda[,] *sino* que los caballeros andantes pasados pasaron mucha mala ventura"; I 441 7 "ahora no hay que dudar, *sino* que [se deben creer] esta arte y ejercicio excede á todas aquellas y aquellos"; I 71 30 "¿quién duda[,] *sino* que en los venideros tiempos...que el sabio..."; I 489 26 "pues no podría ser ménos[,] *sino* [podría ser] que presto descubriésemos quien nos diese noticia della"; II 195 17 "y no podrá ser ménos[,] *sino* [podrá ser] que el asno nos oya"; II 386 13 "¡ay Dios mio! replicó Sanchica, y qué será de ver á mi padre con pedorreras: ¿no es bueno[,] *sino* que desde que nací tengo deseo de ver á mi padre con calzas atacadas" (where it is evident that *no es bueno* is equivalent to some such colloquial exclamation as "isn't it funny" or "it seems impossible," plus the understood "but it is true that." Compare the frequently-heard English exclamatory sentence, in which the same state of affairs obtains, "Isn't it odd! but ever since I was born I have wanted to see my father thus dressed."); II 99 22 "a mí con eso, dijo Sancho, no tomeis ménos[,] *sino* que se me fuera á mí por alto dar alcance á su conocimiento"; I 265 26 "no se me puede quitar del pensamiento ni habrá quien me lo quite en el mundo, ni quien me dé á entender otra cosa, y seria un majadero el que lo contrario entendiese ó creyese, *sino* que aquel bellaconazo del maestro Elisabad estaba amanecado con la reina Madásima" (where *sino* is of the same kind if we consider as parenthetical the matter following the first comma; and if not, the example yet offers us a good instance of the use of *otra cosa* with the meaning *otherwise, the opposite,*

which is logically followed by *que* alone; but to me it seems evident that the dependent proposition is strictly adversative, with ellipsis of the assertive *creer*).

I find very few instances of the phenomenon elsewhere. One would have expected to find examples in the *Corbacho*, the *Grail*, and the *Patrañuelo*; but I find none: *Cel.* 27 20 "pues aquellos no deuen menos hazer, como sean en facultades menores, *sino* viuir a su ley"; *Cartas* 99 A 14 "y á trueco de restaurar algo de este trabajo, no dude *sino* que han de perder mucho"; *Amad.* 153 B 1 "desto he yo placer...; é de lo que vos dije no tengais duda, *sino* [creed] que así se cumplirá"; 280 B 16 "no dudo *sino* que ninguna razón que se atraviase de buen amor le pueda satisfacer."

6. *With implied negation*— Just as in case of other negatives, we find *sino* appearing after certain words or clauses which in reality express negation indirectly. Here Weigert fails to stress sufficiently this phenomenon, but strives to explain the use as that after positive terms, save in some instances, chiefly in questions. Llorens also fails to perceive the negative implication that evokes the use of *sino* and terms the use *sino* "sin estar precedido de expresiones negativas."¹⁸ Nor does Espinosa sense the principle which induces its use.¹⁹ All the examples adduced by these writers contain implied negation.

A. *In questions*— In various places we have called attention to the common device that is frequently employed to express indirectly, and with greater energy, a negative by means of a question.²⁰ It is but natural, then, that we should find *sino* under similar circumstances, used to introduce the contrary or substitute of the denied first member which is introduced by an interrogative word. Bello recognizes the force of this implied negation here, and Jespersen treats it for English.²¹ It seems that Weigert is unwilling to admit that *sino* can introduce a member as an entire substitute for the first when that first contains concepts to which it appears that the second member serves as an exception, since the two

¹⁸Cf. Llorens, p. 161, first paragraph.

¹⁹Cf. A. M. Espinosa, "Old French ne-se-non in other Romance Languages." *Matzke Memorial Volume*, p. 92.

²⁰Cf. chs. I, 1 and 10 C; V, 1, B; 2, B; 4, D, (2); 6, C; 8, C; VI, 3, B, (1).

²¹Cf. Bello, §1150; Jespersen, pp. 127, 233.

members belong to different genera; that is, he seeks to make *sino* equivalent to *nisi* rather than to *sed*.²² He has but to disregard the species or genus found in the first member, and let the interrogative serve as negative to the nexus, that is, as denial of the entire clause, and not as special negation of any particular genus, and, doing so, it follows that *sino* is not at all illogical, but that it serves to introduce the substitute for the preceding nexus. The particular sentence that presents difficulty for him is II 280 34 "¿qué [ninguna] canasta de ropa blanca, de camisas, de tocadores y de escarpines (aunque no los gasto) trae [Dulcinea] delante de sí para ablandarme, *sino* un vituperio y otro?"²³ Weigert correctly maintains that *vituperio* cannot serve as an exception to *canasta de ropa*; and, therefore, he thinks that the author must have had in mind some genus, such as *done*s, comprising these concrete things, to which *vituperio*, as a *don*, can be logically excepted. But there is a much simpler and more logical explanation, namely, let *qué* serve as negative to the nexus of the first clause and *sino*, like *sed* or *sondern*, introduce the substitution. The above sentence means, then, "she did nothing fine (as might have been expected), but, instead, she had for me only abuse." Weigert admits this construction when it is a question of interrogative sentences that do not resort to the concrete genus; for example, "¿cómo nos ha de ir, *sino* muy bien."²⁴ There is, then, no reason to consider the clause as a kind of conditional or *positiven Auforderung*, with the resulting anacoluthon.²⁵

To the examples transcribed by Weigert, I add the following, which, in substance and meaning, undoubtedly express negation not differing in import from II 280 34 above: I 232 18 "¿qué [nada] hay mas [que hacer] dijo Sancho, *sino* tomar un barbero...?"; I 273 18 "¿qué [nada] ha de pensar *sino* que quien tal dice y afirma, debe de tener güero el juicio?"; I 290 10 "¿qué [nada] me ha de suceder, respondió Sancho, *sino* el haber perdido...tres pollinos?"

²²Cf. Weigert, pp. 171 ff.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 172, ex. 480 b.

²⁴Weigert, p. 170, ex. 139 a.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 173.

(and similarly, I 50 6, 179 12, 187 4); I 348 5 "¿quién [nadie] pensais que ha ganado este reino... *sino* el valor de Dulcinea?"; I 357 17 "y en dándomela. ¿á quién [a nadie] quieres tú que la dé *sino* á tí?"; II 210 18 "¿y cuyos [de nadie] eran sus cuerpos, *sino* míos? Y con quién [con nadie] me sustentaba yo, *sino* con ellos?" (and similarly, II 210 17, 253 29, 285 5, 356 15); II 220 22 "a música de rebuznos ¿qué [ninguna] contrapunta se había de llevar *sino* de varapalos?"; II 228 2 "¿por dicha vas caminando á pié y descalzo... *sino* sentado en una tabla?"

So rarely is this phenomenon encountered in the other works examined that one may almost say that it is lacking. I find an occasional example in the *Celestina* and in the *Corbacho*; but the use is identical to that in the *Quijote*.

B. *After miscellaneous terms connoting negation*— In the following four examples, the first three of which Weigert quotes, *sino* is induced by the negative notion back of the particular term or construction preceding it. Here Weigert again fails to emphasize the fact of the negative import.²⁶ In the first example *sino* is entirely regular if we but recall that *dejar* is not infrequently found as a kind of positive equivalent of *no*; that is, there operates a crossing of the privative or exclusive notion in *dejar* with the pure negative *no* plus its verb.²⁷ In the second example *sino*, I feel, is equivalent to *sólo*, as Weigert suggests, without accounting for the use. Cervantes must have felt that some equivalent of *no más* was called for here, as that formula had just been used in the preceding phrase, along with the affirmative *más de* in a previous one. I do not believe that the second *nosotros* is a mistake for *no somos*, which, in order to preserve the balance, is omitted as in the preceding phrase. I feel that there is sufficient negative connotation in *quizá* (<*qui sapit*) to induce a subsequent *sino*. In the third example *sino* is justifiable if we recall the strong negative notion connoted by *antes* and by the conditional tense, the combination of which is here equivalent to "*no la compararía*

²⁶Cf. Weigert, p. 174, ex. 361 a; p. 175, ex. 283 b; p. 169, ex. 453 a, respectively.

²⁷Cf. chs. III, 1, C, (4); V, 4, D, (3); VI, 3, A, (2).

sino con..." In the fourth, we again have *sino*²⁸ after a condition (here an unreal condition), which is equivalent to "mi manquedad *no* había nacido en alguna taberna, *sino*..." as Marín points out.²⁹ Compare the force of the condition in the third and fourth examples with the situation obtaining in §D below: I 445 6 "pero dejemos esto aparte [*no* hablemos más de esto] que es laberinto de muy dificultosa salida, *sino* que volvamos á la preeminencia de las armas contra las letras"; I 163 6 "¿qué diablos de venganza hemos de tomar, respondió Sancho, si estos son mas de veinte, y nosotros no mas de dos, y aun quizá nosotros *sino* uno y medio?"; II 182 13 "pues me bastaba á mí haber entendido...que vuesa merced es su caballero, para que me *mordiera* la lengua *antes* de compararla *sino* con el mismo cielo"; II 5 15 "lo que no he podido dejar de sentir es que me noten de viejo y de manco, como si hubiera sido en mi mano haber detenido el tiempo...ó *si* mi manquedad *hubiera* nacido en alguna taberna, *sino* en la mas alta ocasion."

Interesting are the following examples, which illustrate a greater variety of these connotative terms: *Cel.* 90 29 "*mal* gozo *vea* de *mi*, *si* burlo; *sino* que ha quatro horas que muero de la madre"; *Cartas* 26 A 16 "Isabel Suarez es la que vino de Malagon, y harto de *mala gana*, segun dice, *sino* que como alguna vez la ha tenido enviála la priora"; 3 B 29 "y así le he dicho lo ha hecho *mal*, y está harto *confuso*, á mi parecer, *sino* que cierto no se entiende"; 189 B 30 "vuestra paternidad lo sabrá mejor decir; que harto *boba* soy de ponerlo aquí, *sino* que con otros cuidados quizá se le olvidará"; 135 B 34 "mas es cosa *extraña* la *esterilidad* [infiructuosidad] de este lugar, *si no* es de membrillos en su tiempo" (that is, "no produce nada"); *Corb.* 60 9 "que el que de linaje bueno viene, *apenas* mostrará *synon* donde viene"; 288 20 "tengome por *malaventurada* por me ygualar en fabla contygo, *synon* darte por baldia"; *Amad.* 202 B 41 "estando en el monte con Amadís, que *otra* vida *sino* cazar tenia, le dixo" (an excellent instance of the purely negative force of *otro*, though we find here inversion of the object before the verb); 233 B 2 "como un caballero pobre,

²⁸The *y no* of this edition I emend so as to read *sino*, which is not only the reading of the Princeps, but is justifiable.

²⁹Cf. Marín, IV 29 1.

que *otra cosa sino* un caballo é unas armas posee" (and similarly with *otro*, 327 B 1, 364 A 60, 361 A 54); 3 B 54 "pregunto al escudero si aquel rio tenia *otra* pasada *sino* por la puente" (in which, as in the next example, the principles of condition and of question also contribute); 24 A 48 "¿sabeis vos si habeis *otro* nombre *sino* este?"; 374 B 45 "donde *otro* remedio, si el suyo *no*, tenia ni esperaba" (with *Trennung* of its elements); 72 B 46 "é semejábanse tanto, que á *duro* se podian conocer, *sino* que don Galaor era algo mas blanco"; 230 A 49 "y entrando en él, falláronlo *yermo* [inhabitado], *sino* de las aves"; 309 B 5 "porque muy *apartado* era de su condicion, *sino*, como rey, ser honesto en la palabra"; 299 A 59 "á mí *excusado* será *sino* seguir lo que..."; 386 B 52 "antes de poca suerte, *sino* que alcanzó á ser señor de aquella torre"; 31 A 22 "mas creo que lo faceis por no haber razon de os combatir, que á *esta hora* [unseasonable time] fallaréis *sino* los diablos" (plainly a denial of the likelihood); *Cifar* 395 12 "en fuerte punto nascio [malaventurado, inafortunado] quien con este ome fabla, *sy non* en cordura"; 337 9 *pocos* amigos fallaredes al tienpo de agora, que vos acorriesen con lo suyo, *sy non* a grant pro de *sy*"; 305 24 "e deue *guardar* de jurar, *sy non* en aquella que deue conplir con derecho."

C. "*Sino*" after "*todo*"— Knowing as we do the strong negative notion often connoted by *todo*,³⁰ it seems natural to consider as *sino* after a negative the *sino* that often follows this indefinite adjective, and not necessarily as the use after positive, as Weigert styles it.³¹ Whatever may be the explanation, it is fitting that some examples be cited from the *Quijote*, since Weigert gives none from it: I 411 24 "*todos* reian, *sino* el ventero"; I 581 24 "en resolucion, estando *todos* en regocijo y fiesta, *sino* los dos apporreantes"; II 178 4 "respondióme que en *todo* decian verdad *sino* en la daga"; II 286 11 "y *todo* saldrá en la colada del gobierno, *sino* que me ha dado gran pena."

I feel no need for further examples as contained in the other texts examined; but it may be said in passing that *sino* after *todo* is somewhat infrequent in them.

³⁰Cf. chs. V, 4, D, (3); 8, C; 12; VI, 3, A, (1).

³¹Weigert §14, (d).

D. "*Sino*" after affirmative constructions— After certain types of clauses that are formally positive, we frequently find *sino* or *sino que* serving to introduce the single exception to the integrity, or universality, of the predicate in much the same fashion as it does after *todo*. Weigert takes issue with Gessner, who thinks it a case involving the omission of some form of *ser*;³² but even so, the situation would not be changed, unless we admit the theory of hypothetical condition. Weigert quotes from our text only these two examples: ³³ II 353 30 "alborotóse el doctor viendo tan colérico al gobernador, y quiso hacer Tirteafuera de la sala, *sino que* en aquel instante sonó una corneta de posta en la calle"; II 442 32 "dos hermosísimas pastoras, á lo ménos *vestidas* como [si fuesen] pastoras, *sino que* los pellicos y sayas eran de fino brocado." Only in such cases as the last is Weigert's "ausser (darin) dass, nur nicht insofern, in dem Punkte dass" applicable,³⁴ for often it is not so easily supplied. This is comparable to a similar practice with English only.³⁵ "She is a very pretty girl, *only* she is too tall." Since the second clause appears to be a substitute for the entire nexus of the first (as in "alborotóse...*sino que*..."), one finds it difficult to judge the *sino* exceptive. I can find no better explanation for the construction than that again it is a question of ellipsis, in this case, of the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact, for it is everywhere easy to supply it or to reduce the sentence to such a condition—which goes to prove that the conditional idea must have been present in the mind of the speaker. For example, in "alborotóse, etc.," substitute before *sino* "and he would have gone," which, constituting implied negation, would admit a subsequent *sino*. One may say, too, that where the actual reconstitution of the apodosis seems difficult, there remains the possibility of a crossing of constructions or basic ideas motivating the speaker. Weigert thinks the conditional theory untenable because the main verb often shows the indicative tenses of reality. However, one has but to scrutinize the examples quoted by him,

³²Cf. Weigert, p. 181.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 181, ex. 501 a; p. 182, ex. 526 a.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 182.

³⁵Cf. Jespersen, pp. 137 ff.

together with those that I transcribe, in order to see that most frequently the main verb shows the conditional tense or a tense equivalent to the conditional (such as the imperfect subjunctive) *deber*, *poder*, and *querer*, the indicative tenses of which (especially the preterit and the imperfect) often express potentiality or condition,³⁶ as seen in the following examples. Furthermore, *querer* may express the idea of approximate action; that is, of *almost*, *about*, etc. Compare in this connection: Benavente "*¡Podía usted haber ido en perrera!*" (that is, "hubiera podido ir");³⁷ Bello "*y pudo también expresarse la hipótesis por medio del complemento*";³⁸ Palacio Valdés, *Marta y María* 35 17 "*si me quieres tanto como dices, no debían ofenderte mis consejos*";³⁹ *Los Años de Juventud del Doctor Angélico*, 287 31 "*¿no pudiste haber huido?*" 10 14 "*los dos primos soltaron a reír hasta querer [almost] salirseles el aliento por las narices*"; 75 22 "*y vuelta a reír hasta querer [almost] reventar*"; 309 2 "*Jáuregui dió un salto atrás y quiso chocar con la puerta de cristales*"; 156 5 "*y al tropezar con los míos sus labios quisieron contraerse con una sonrisa triste*" (which, as in the following example, appears to connote also the notion of *seemed to*): 22 9 "*no obstante, al cabo quise [I seemed, I thought] entender que su ayuda era más externa que espiritual*"; 67 20 "*el pobre Moro quiso volverse loco de alegría*";⁴⁰ *Corb.* 288 17 "*entonce la Fortuna ouo tanta malenconia que quiso rebentar.*" At times the main verb expresses a categoric judgment which involves overstatement, especially after the verbs *to seem* and *to be*, with the predicate containing some such absolute terms as *mismo*, *tal*, *así bueno*, *contento*, etc., universal terms that in this respect resemble the exclusion such as that connoted by *todo*. The speaker probably realizes the over-statement and, mentally supplying the apodosis of a condition, qualifies the predicate through *sino*. I find the use even today: "*ambas locuciones son una misma, sino que en la*

³⁶Cf. Hanssen, §592.

³⁷Benavente, Jacinto, *Trozos Modernos* (ed. Dorado and Ray, Ginn and Co., 1922), *No Fumadores*, p. 63, l. 27.

³⁸Cf. Bello, p. 183.

³⁹Palacio Valdés, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰*Idem*, *Los Años de Juventud del Doctor Angélico*...

primera hay reticencia y no en la segunda.”⁴¹ Observe that at times the future tense may have the function of the conditional.

To Weigert's examples I add the following: II 358 4 “y ya ella *hubiera dado* la mano de esposa á mi bachiller, *sino que* no la puede extender”; II 222 3 “harto mejor *haria* yo (*sino que* soy un barbero...)”; II 358 24 “otra cosa *querria*, dijo el labrador, *sino que* no me atrevo á decirlo”; I 569 18 “y *querria* darle un condado que le tengo muchos dias há prometido, *sino que* temo que no ha de tener habilidad”; I 254 10 “que *apénas* le conocíamos *sino que* los vestidos...nos dieron á entender que era el que buscábamos” (where it appears after the approximate negative *apenas*, and the substitution “we hardly should have known him” is understood); II 53 21 “*apostaré* yo, dijo Sancho, que desde el emprincipio me caló y me entendió, *sino que* quiso turbarme por oirme decir otras doscientas patochadas” (where *apostaré* is equivalent to “I’d wager,” just as often *juraré* is rendered “I’d swear,” for in spite of the apparent vigor of these terms, the future tense renders them much less direct than *apuesto* and *juro*); II 61 9 “y *desta manera debia* de ser [*sería*] el [ejercicio] de mi señora cuando tú la viste, *sino que* la envidia todas las [cosas]...trueca y vuelve en diferentes figuras”; II 517 26 “que *tambien*, á vuesa merced se le caen de la boca de dos en dos mejor que [se me caerían] á mí, *sino que* debe de haber entre los mios y los suyos esta diferencia”; II 439 16 “porque estos santos y caballeros profesaron *lo que* [lo mismo que] yo profeso...; *sino que* la diferencia que hay entre mí y ellos es...”; II 197 34 “ya llegan cerca, respondió el todo camuza, *sino que* yo me he adelantado á saber si hay posada” (of which the missing apodosis would be, “and they would be here, too,” or “we all should have arrived together”).

The other works present the use under identical circumstances: *Cel.* 62 5 “mas razones destas te *diria*, *sino porque* la prolixidad es enojosa al que oye”; 100 7 “reirme *querria*, *sino que* no puedo”; 167 20 “algunas consolatorias palabras te *diria*..., *sino que* ya la dañada memoria...me las ha perdido”; 108 1 “mas que esso se yo; *sino porque* te enojaste estotro dia, no quiero hablar” (where, as

⁴¹Cf. Marín, V, 1, note.

in the next example, we have the thought actually finished, the equivalent of the apodosis that usually is lacking); *Cifar* 399 24 "señora, *sy non que* seria mal mandadero, *callarme-ya yo*"; 68 21 "ca *sy non* por vos el mio fijuelo muerto *fuera, sy non que* lo re-gebistes en los braços"; 437 21 "señor, dixo vno dellos, muy de *buena mente* lo *faremos* [haríamos] *synon que* tenemos que nos trae con engaño"; 181 10 "e *ouieras* a ser comido della *sy non* por los canes de mi padre"; 65 11 "su fijuelo se *ouiera a ferir* muy mal *sy non que* lo rescebio en los braços la muger"; *Corb.* 255 14 "*po-drian* ser alegados, *synon* por non detener tiempo"; 266 24 "en-xemplos te *daria* mil *synon* por non ser prolixo"; 191 7 "que mas *podiera* fazer: *synon* que cada vno sepa e entienda..."; *Patr.* 135 3 "y así lo confesó el esclavo, *sino que* Dionisia su mujer le había inducido..."; 27 3 "y estoy de vos bien *satisfecho, sino que* nuestra única hija...hallastes muerta a vuestro lado"; 97 13 "hicieron su viaje *bueno y salvo, sino que*...los trujo la fortuna a la playa de Valencia"; 111 6 "mi casa y *cuanto* hay en ella está *presta* para tu servicio, *sino que* hay un gran inconveniente"; 127 7 "mostróse muy *satisfecho y contento* el Rey Apolonio, *sino que* le molestaba la importunación de la Reina"; *Luc.* 154 17 "et que es el casamiento muy *bueno* para el *sinon* por un embargo"; 97 10 "et el infante dixole que bien le *parescia sinon quel'* fazian muy grand rroydo aquellos estrumentos"; *Amad.* 8 B 36 "é tambien *dijera* lo que de Urganda supo, *sino* por el pleito que fizo"; 53 A 26 "y ellos mismos *gela dieran, sino* porque...no habia causa ninguna" (and similarly with the subjunctive, 33 A 28, 335 A 35, 358 A 13); 370 A 13 "*tal* [not different] *es él, sino que* la su contraria fortuna le ha sido mas adversa que nunca lo fué"; 124 A 9 "entonces le contó el sueño *como* oistes [todo el sueño] *si no* tanto que el nombre de las doncellas no le dijo"; 274 A 22 "porque la tenia por muy *cuerda é de buen talante; sino* la primera vez que la fabló en el hecho del Emperador"; 158 A 15 "pero *tanto como* antes dello sé, *sino que*, pensando ser doncella, decis que es dueña"; *Cartas* 138 B 5 "dice que las *trataria* mas, *sino que* no se le piden" (and also after conditional tense, 180 B 9); 66 B 28 "¡oh cómo *quisiera* escribir muy largo! *sino* como escribo otras cartas no tengo lugar"; 277 B 26 "yo me *quisiera* alargar mas; *sino que* es casi de noche" (and

also after subjunctive, 69 A 17, 80 B 16, 198 B 36, 242 A 27, 272 B 22); 58 B 42 "acá nos falta una [monja], y *queríala* yo harto de allá; *sino que* es tan lejos" (where the imperfect expresses conditional); 7 B 1 "si ellos quieren confesar *tambien* lo *pueden* hacer, *sino que* tienen una constitución que se lo quita" (showing present of *poder* with potential or conditional value); 94 A 14 "es *como* él dice...; *sino que* he miedo..."; 61 B 3 "porque la *misma* [no otra] comision tenía entonces del nuncio...*sino que* no usaba de ella"; 61 B 21 "y el pobre Mariano [es] lo *mismo*, *sino que* algunas veces no se entiende"; 236 B 7 "*ansi* [no diferentemente] me acaeció con la madre Brianda, que le escribia cartas terribles, *sino que* me aprovechaba poco"; 49 B 26 "que *solo* [nada más] le ha movido celo de Dios...*sino que*...ha sido demasado y indiscreto"; 68 B 26 "ellas [cartas] venian *buenas*, *sino que* vuestra reverencia, cuando quiere hacer mejor letra la hace peor"; 4 A 37 "está muy *contento*, *sino que* es menester aderezarle una cosilla"; 160 B 9 "me *dará gusto quitarme* de este cansancio; *sino que* he miedo..."; 98 A 34 "harta *recreacion* me *da*, *sino que* este escribir me deja poco tiempo para tenerla"; 238 A 16 "algunas veces me *daba cuidado* lo de Salamanca, *sino que* no via otra cosa mijor."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the foregoing study, I have used the following books and articles. I include abbreviations of titles and of names of authors to which reference has been made in abbreviated form.

- Altamirano, I. M., *La Navidad en las Montañas* (ed. Lombard and Hill, D. C. Heath), New York, 1917.
- Amad.*; *Amadís de Gaula* (ed. Gayangos, *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XL).
- Bello: *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, por D. Andrés Bello (with notes by R. J. Cuervo, vigésima edición), Paris, 1921.
- Benavente, Jacinto, *No Fumadores*, in *Trozos Modernos* (ed. Dorado and Ray, Ginn and Co.), Boston, 1922.
- Bourciez: *Eléments de Linguistique Romane*, par Edouard Bourciez (Deuxième édition), Paris, 1923.
- Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, *Calderón, Three Plays* (ed. G. T. Northup, D. C. Heath), New York, 1926.
- Cartas*: *Cartas de Santa Teresa de Jesús* (ed. de la Fuente, *BAE*, Vol. LV).
- Cejador: *La Lengua de Cervantes*, Vol. I, por Julio Cejador y Frauca (Vol. II, *Diccionario*), Madrid, 1905.
- Cel.*: *Comedia de Calisto e Melibea* (Burgos, 1499, pub. R. Foulché-Delbosc), Barcelona-Madrid, 1902.
- Cent. Dict.*: *The Century Dictionary* (revised and enlarged edition).
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel, *Don Quijote* (ed. Wolfgang von Wurzbach, *Bibliotheca romanica*), Vienna, 1911.

- Cifar*: *El Libro del Cauallero Zifar* (ed. C. P. Wagner), Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1929.
- Clemencín: *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, comentado por D. Diego Clemencín (8 Vols.), Madrid, 1894.
- Coester, Alfred, *An Anthology of the Modernista Movement in Spanish America* (Ginn and Co.), Boston, 1924.
- Conq.*: *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico*, por Don Antonio de Solís, Sevilla, 1735.
- Corb.*: *Corvacho ó Reprobación del Amor Mundano*, por Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Arcipreste de Talavera (ed. Pérez Pastor, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles), Madrid, 1901.
- Cuervo, R. J., *Apuntaciones Críticas sobre el Lenguaje Bogotano* (sexta edición), París, 1914.
- Dic. Acad.*: *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, por la Real Academia Española (15th edition), 1925.
- Diez: *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, von Friedrich Diez (Fünfte Auflage, drei Theile in einem Bande), Bonn, 1882.
- Espinosa, A. M., "Old French *no—se—non* in other Romance Languages," in *Matzke Memorial Volume*, Leland Stanford Junior University Publications, (1911).
- Garcés: *Fundamento del Vigor y Elegancia de la Lengua Castellana*, por D. Gregorio Garcés, Madrid, 1886.
- García de Diego: *Elementos de Gramática Histórica Castellana*, por D. Vicente García de Diego, Burgos, 1914.
- Grail*: *Spanish Grail Fragments* (Vol. I, texts; Vol. II, commentary, ed. Karl Pietsch, University of Chicago Press), 1924-1925.
- Gram. Acad.*: *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, por la Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1917.
- Guz. de Alf.*: *Guzman de Alfarache*, por Mateo Alemán (ed. Julio Cejador, 2 Vols.), Madrid, 1912.

- Hanssen: *Gramática Histórica de la Lengua Castellana*, Federico Hanssen, Halle, 1913.
- Harpers' Latin Dictionary*, (American Book Co.), New York.
- Jespersen: *Negation in English and Other Languages*, by Otto Jespersen, Copenhagen, 1917.
- Johnston, O. M., "The Irrational *ne* in Concessive Clauses in French," in *Romanic Review*, VIII, 1917.
- Keniston, Hayward, Review of "La Negación en Español Antiguo, con Referencias a otros Idiomas, por E. L. Llorens," in *Modern Philology*, May, 1930.
- Lang, H. R., "Contributions to Spanish Grammar," in *Modern Language Notes*, Vols. I and II.
- Laz.: *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc), Barcelona-Madrid, 1900.
- Lenz.: *La Oración y sus Partes*, por Rodolfo Lenz (segunda edición), Madrid, 1905.
- Llorens: *La Negación en Español Antiguo*, por E. L. Llorens, Madrid, 1929.
- Luc.: *El Libro del Conde Lucanor*, por Juan Manuel (ed. Hermann Knust), Leipzig, 1900.
- Marcos: *Marcos de Obregón*, por Vicente Espinel (ed. Samuel Gili Gaya, 2 Vols.), Madrid, 1922.
- Marín: *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Nueva Edición Crítica, por Francisco Rodríguez Marín (7 Vols.), Madrid, 1927.
- Menéndez Pidal, R., *Cantar de mio Cid*, Vol. I, Madrid, 1908.
- Meyer-Lübke: *Grammaire des Langues Romanes* (Vol. III), par W. Meyer-Lübke, Paris, 1900.
- Palacio Valdés Armando, *Marta y María* (Victoriano Suárez), Madrid, 1917.
- Los Años de Juventud del Doctor Angélico*, Madrid, 1920.
- Patr.: *El Patrañuelo*, por Juan Timoneda (ed. Federico Ruiz Moreuende), Madrid, 1930.

- Peña: *Gramática Teórica y Práctica de la Lengua Castellana*, por Rafael Angel de la Peña (segunda edición), México, 1900.
- Pérez Galdós, Benito, *Electra* (ed. O. G. Bunnell, American Book Co.), 1902.
- Primera Crónica General de España* (Pub. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, NBAE, Vol. V), Madrid, 1906.
- Ramsey: *A Spanish Grammar*, by M. M. Ramsey, New York, 1902.
- Tamayo y Baus, Manuel, *Obras* (ed. D. Alejandro Pidal y Mon, 4 Vols.), Madrid, 1898.
- Tobler: *Vermischte Beiträge zur Französischen Grammatik*, von Adolf Tobler, Leipzig (I, 1902; II, 1906; III, 1908; IV, 1908).
- Valera, Juan, *El Comendador Mendoza* (ed. Rudolph Schevill, American Book Co.), 1905.
- Weigert: *Untersuchungen zur Spanischen Syntax auf Grund der Werke des Cervantes*, von L. Weigert, Berlin, 1907.
- Weisinger, Nina L., *Spanish-American Readings*, D. C. Heath and Co., 1929.
- Wiggers: *Grammatik der Spanischen Sprache*, von Julius Wiggers (Zweite Auflage), Leipzig, 1884.

